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Ukraine—The Sorest Spot of Europe.

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UKRAINE - THE SOREST SPOT OF EUROPE



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INTRODUCTION

Forty million people, inhabiting the richest section of Europe, with an intense feeling of national consciousness, but divided among four neighbouring states, grope their way through the valley of despair. Subjected by these states to a system of political and economic oppression, which in the case of two of the states is characterized by violent outbursts of a reign of terror, these people are today passing through a crisis that may prove a serious menace to peace.

The Paris Peace Conference, while it succeeded in healing some of the old sores of Europe, left many sores untreated and produced new wounds by applying a remedy of the kind which proved very injurious in its results. The Peace Conference having recognized as independent a number of nations which were organized in the territories formerly belonging to Austro-Hungary and Russia, turned a deaf ear to the demands for a full national status by the great and solid racial group of forty million Ukrainians, and not only failed to recognize the independence of the Ukrainians but saw fit to treat them as enemy people, ceding parts of their territory to Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

The makers of the new map of Europe were certainly not very friendly to the Ukrainians, for before the war the territory of the Ukraine was divided only between Russia and Austria-Hungary and now it is allotted to four states. Russia still retains the bulk of the territory which she controlled before the war, with about 32,000,000 Ukrainians. Poland rules over the provinces of Volhynia, Polissia and Kholm, ceded to her by Russia in the Treaty of Riga of 1921, the cession being approved by the Allies. Poland's rule extends also to Eastern Galicia, a former Austrian province, ceded to her by the Conference of Ambassadors, acting on behalf of the Allies, on March 15, 1923. Ukrainians in Poland number approximately 6,500,000 people. Rumania possesses the former Austrian province of Bukowina as well as the former Russian province of Bessarabia, having about 1,200,000 Ukrainians. The Carpatho-Ruthenia, which was part of Hungary with over 500,000 Ukrainians, was in-

incorporated in Czechoslovakia. Today the Ukrainians are the largest national minority in Europe, forming the largest minority groups in each of the states where they live, with the exception of Czechoslovakia.

An observation is not out of place at this stage. Whenever national minorities in Europe are discussed, we think of the minorities incorporated in those states which signed international treaties guaranteeing the rights of minorities. The fact, however, is that several states in Europe, as for instance France and Italy, have considerable national minorities within their borders, but are not bound by the minority treaties. One other fact must be mentioned which usually is lost sight of, when conditions in Russia are discussed. A great number of political observers seem to act on the supposition that Russia is an homogeneous national state, whereas the truth is that Russia contains more minorities than all other European states put together. And here again the Ukrainians form the largest minority group, numbering about 32,000,000 people.

The Ukrainians have not only the distinction of being the largest national minority in Europe, but also the distinction of being the worst treated minority. Only a year ago, in the spring of 1930, the Ukrainians in the Soviet Union were subjected to a reign of terror which hardly has a parallel in history. The terror was directed principally against Ukrainian peasants, priests and the intelligentsia.

Thousands of Ukrainian peasants were forced to leave their farms and join the collective farms, and thousands of those unwilling to do so were sent to convict camps in northern Russia, Eastern Siberia, or to the dreaded Solovetski Islands. In many cases hundreds of peasants at a time were executed. This movement of forced collectivization took place at the time when the mad anti-religious terror was rampant. Religion was openly proscribed. The leaders of the Church were ruthlessly persecuted, imprisoned and exiled to Siberia or the Solovetski Islands. This terror culminated in a monster trial at Kharkow, in which Professor Yefremov and forty four other Ukrainian leaders were charged with conspiring to stir up a revolution for the purpose of establishing an independent Ukrainian Republic. Charges of plotting to bring about foreign intervention were also made. The trial ended by condemning all of the accused to many years of imprisonment.

Again, the Ukrainians in Poland were subjected to a reign of terror characterized by "punitive expeditions" which descended upon hundreds of Ukrainian villages in Eastern Galicia, flogging mercilessly and indiscriminately men, women and children, and causing great and wanton property damage to Ukrainian institutions and private individuals. The terror was also characterized by great election abuses. Over twenty

Ukrainian members of Parliament were arrested and some of them subjected to most brutal treatment in the prison of Brest-Litowsk, while thousands of Ukrainian voters were intimidated and disfranchised.

The Red Terror in the Ukraine failed to arouse the interest of the world, but the atrocities perpetrated by the Poles upon the Ukrainians caused many foreign correspondents to investigate the situation personally. We have to thank them for drawing the attention of the world to an exceedingly dangerous situation in that part of Europe.

The reports of these correspondents placed the Ukrainian minority question squarely before the League of Nations as guardian of minority rights in Europe. For its failure to adjust, remedy or otherwise honor those rights the League has been severely criticized. It has been repeatedly stated that with respect to the Ukrainians the League of Nations has not been very active in the defence of their rights. This charge is made principally in connection with the treatment of the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia.

When the war was in its final stage, on November 1st, 1918, the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia, Bukowina and Transcarpathia proclaimed the Western Ukrainian Republic, which soon was in a state of war with Poland for the control of the territory of Eastern Galicia, rich in productive agricultural land and in mineral oil. The Allied Powers recognized the Western Ukrainian Republic as a belligerent and on several occasions tried to bring about a truce between the Poles and Ukrainians. On May 12, 1919, an Allied Commission, under the presidency of General Botha, presented to the Polish and Ukrainian Governments a draft of an Armistice Convention. The Ukrainians accepted the proposals therein contained, but the Poles rejected them on the ground that the safety of Poland required Polish military occupation of Eastern Galicia. The Poles alleged the necessity of such military occupation of Eastern Galicia as a protection against Bolshevik invasion. This line of argument proved successful with the Allies, for on June 25th, 1919, the Supreme Council permitted Poland to occupy Eastern Galicia with her troops and authorized her to establish a civil administration with autonomy and political and religious freedom. The final decision as to the control of Eastern Galicia was to be left to the choice of the people. On November 20th, 1919, the Supreme Council proposed that Poland should have a mandate over Eastern Galicia for a period of twenty - five years, at the end of which time there was to be a plebiscite to decide what was to become of the said territory. To this proposal the Poles objected, and the Supreme Council on December 8th 1919, again agreed with them by recognizing "the right of the Polish Government to proceed to organize a regular administration" in Eastern Galicia, without any reference to the question of the

plebiscite. Finally, on March 15th, 1923, the Conference of Ambassadors as successors to the Supreme Council, prompted by Poland and the Council of the League of Nations, which acted on the request of Canadian representatives to the League Assembly, placed Eastern Galicia under the sovereignty of Poland over the protests of the Government of the Western Ukrainian Republic.

In deciding to place Eastern Galicia under the sovereignty of Poland, the Conference of Ambassadors did not provide for any special guarantees for autonomy in Eastern Galicia, being satisfied with an Act passed by the Polish Sejm on September 26th, 1922, which provided for a limited autonomy. The Ambassadors' decision was accepted with satisfaction by the Poles, but to the Ukrainians, who saw all their hopes of national independence thereby frustrated, it was a source of bitter disappointment. The following chapters of this book show that Poland not only did not contemplate seriously to enforce the Act of September 26th, 1922, providing for autonomy of Eastern Galicia,—because up to the present time this Act has never been enforced,—but also was continuously infringing upon the rights guaranteed to her minorities by the Treaty of June 28th, 1919, signed by Poland and the Allied Powers. The obligations imposed by this Treaty for the protection of minorities, and assumed by Poland as a signatory, constitute obligations of international concern and are placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. By denying to the Ukrainians the rights guaranteed under this Treaty, which was amply evidenced by the recent Polish atrocities in Eastern Galicia, Poland has created among the Ukrainians an atmosphere of utmost bitterness, pregnant with grave dangers to peace. It is up to the League of Nations to see that the wrongs of the Ukrainians in all states in which they live, particularly in Poland, are remedied. In particular, with respect to the recent disorders and atrocities in Eastern Galicia, the League should see its way to institute a full and impartial inquiry and make such decision in the matter as best will serve the interests of peace and justice. This would go a long way towards an improvement of the situation as it affects the Ukrainians and the nations which rule over them. It would not mean, of course, a permanent solution of the Ukrainian question.

* * *

The Ukrainian question is not a mere question of a national minority in Poland, or in Rumania, which can be settled with comparative ease by a guarantee of certain minimum rights provided by Minorities Treaties. Raymond Leslie Buell, an eminent writer on international topics, in his treatise on "The Protection of Minorities" *ventures the following opinion, which we fully endorse:

* See "International Relations," 1925.

"... No minority treaty will silence the demands of a nationality whose group consciousness is suppressed by a foreign state. No minority treaty would have silenced the demands of Alsace-Lorraine for reunion with France or at least for political autonomy. Minority treaties can never whitewash imperialism. They will succeed only when the minorities to whom they apply are genuine minorities, inextricably part of the state having jurisdiction over them."

Can one be correct in stating that the Ukrainians are one of such „genuine minorities” of which Mr. Buell speaks? — Nevcr. The Ukrainians have an intense „group consciousness” They form a majority in their own territory. They demand full nationality. A prominent Italian statesman and publicist, Luigi Sturzo,** has this to say in connection with the question of minorities and nationality:

"All the nationalities created in the last century were in fact, minorities in the centre of existing states. Their birth was consecrated by the principle of nationality, a principle which was not always applied in its entirety, owing to the force of circumstances; but in its name was accomplished the liberation of Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Rumania, Albania and Montenegro, gradually withdrawn from the Turkish Empire; Belgium was detached from the Netherlands, Italy freed her provinces from Austrian domination and achieved her unity, and so on until the post war period saw Poland reborn, Czechoslovakia and the Baltic States constituted as republics, and Ireland a Free State.

"What has held good in the past will also hold good in the future; if one of the minorities of today, through some economical and political process, becomes comparatively self-sufficient, with its own culture and activities, if it feels the need of asserting its independence, then it will have acquired its right to nationality.

"In this case there are only two solutions: either free and peaceful co-existence on the Swiss model, or separation, whether achieved through war, rebellion or compromise. The case of Croatia in the Yugoslav state is one of these examples. In time the Ukraine may develop its own economic and political personality, and will desire to be an independent nation. But leaving the future out of account, what is certain today is that in Europe the agitation for national unity has not died out, and the present status of the minorities cannot be regarded as final."

With regard to the Ukrainians, we believe that we are right in stating that they have already acquired a full measure of national consciousness and it is only a question of time when they will translate this consciousness into an action aiming at the establishment of their own sovereign state.

The Ukrainian question in Poland is only part of a larger Ukrainian question affecting the Ukrainian people in the adjoining states. The fact that out of over forty million Ukrainians about thirty two millions live in the Soviet Union, shows how the Ukrainian question is bound up with the Russian question. In its ultimate stage, the Ukrainian question will be solved by the establishment of a Ukrainian State comprising all Ukrainian territories. But before this ultimate and complete solution is possible, the question is capable of partial solutions. In this

** See The Problem of European Minorities by Luigi Sturzo, Hibbert Journal, Oct. 1929.

respect the position of the Ukrainians in Poland is of paramount importance.

Eastern Galicia and other Ukrainian territories were attributed to Poland for the purpose of creating a "cordon sanitaire" against the Bolsheviks. Here we see an example of "historical irony." The Ukrainians, who were and still are, the bitterest enemies of the Bolsheviks and everything that savors of Bolshevism, were the first to wage war on Bolshevism. The newly established Ukrainian People's Republic proclaimed as independent on January 22nd, 1918, had its most deadly enemy in the Russian Bolsheviks. Nevertheless the Ukrainians were sacrificed for the sake of a greater Poland which would be powerful enough to become a bulwark against armed aggression in Western Europe by the Bolsheviks. But is it possible for Poland to become such a bulwark in view of the fact that a third of its population is represented by dissatisfied national minorities, of which the Ukrainians form the largest group? Can Poland be strong enough to withstand an attack by the Bolshevik Russia in relying upon her troops composed of minorities subjected to her oppression? Of what value is a "cordon sanitaire" against Bolshevism, running arbitrarily through the Ukrainian and White Russian lands?

This question is asked by John S. Stephens* and answered in the negative. To quote him:

"From the original home in East Galicia the (Ukrainian) movement has spread into Volhynia, but lately Russian, and claims to be part and parcel of the great Ukrainian cause across the Russian border. This restless people is rapidly acquiring the "partition psychology" of 19th century Poles and wondering if anything short of a European war can bring freedom. Since fellow-Ukrainians are included in Czecho-Slovakia and the Roumanian Bukowina they style themselves the victims of a fourfold partition. Some call for autonomy, others, the majority, curse the "Polish occupation" and work for complete independence."

The Ukrainian question assumes very great importance in view of the present world crisis which is marked by three features: political instability, economic depression, and international insecurity. In the past year we were witnesses of the astonishing growth of fascism in Germany. South America and Central America experienced a series of revolutions. The political life of Spain was characterized by great unrest. China was suffering under a continuance of turmoil. India and Indo-China witnessed the growth of revolutionary agitation. The relations between Germany and France, on the one hand, and between Germany and Poland, on the other, were strained considerably. The tension between Italy and France in respect of naval parity is a continuing threat to peace. Overshadowing everything else was the world wide economic depression which provided the Communists throughout the world with handy ammunition against the present economic order. The tension

* Poland and her National Minorities, "Contemporary Review," July, 1929.

between Russia and the rest of the world grew considerably owing to Russia's mad attempt to bring about in the space of five years a complete economic revolution which would undermine the present social system not only in Russia but also in the rest of the world. Worst of all, the talk of a new war that must come sooner or later is heard everywhere.

Such an atmosphere is not conducive to peace. It contains many sources of present danger and is at least as menacing as the Balkan drama which precipitated the World War.

In view of the above, the importance of the Ukrainian question is evident. The interests of international peace and the dictates of justice and humanity demand a speedy solution of this all-important question.

Polish "Pacification" of the Ukraine

Glaring accounts of organised raids by Polish soldiers in East Galicia were printed in the English, American and Canadian press.

"A reign of terror unparalleled in Europe is now prevailing in the Province of East Galicia, where a Polish military expedition is punishing the Ukrainian peasantry because of recent destruction by fire of many farms owned by Poles."

Such is the charge made by John Elliot, the European correspondent of the New York 'Herald-Tribune.' Poland is also condemned in no uncertain words by the correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian," writing:

"The Polish terror in the Ukraine is now worse than anything else in Europe. The Ukraine has become a land of despair and desolation that are all the more poignant because the rights of the Ukraine have been guaranteed by international treaty, because the League has been altogether deaf to appeals and arguments, and because the outside world does not know or does not care."

Mr. Elliot gives the following short but pungent description of the results of "pacification":

"In the Ukrainian villages of the district priests and peasants are being brutally flogged with the knout (a lash consisting of a tapering bundle of leather thongs twisted with wire and hardened so as to mangle the body) and women shamefully mishandled, the thatched cottages of the peasants unroofed, schools closed, co-operative stores looted, libraries demolished and ruinous requisitions for foodstuffs levied on the villages by the Polish cavalry and police sent into the countryside on a so-called 'mission of pacification.'"

POLISH REASONS FOR THE REIGN OF TERROR

The events which led up to these severe repressive measures ordered by the Polish Government were acts of sabotage or incendiarism of uncertain origin but ascribed by the Poles to a secret Ukrainian organization.

In such a condition as exists in the Ukraine, writes the correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, there are always acts of violence on both sides, but he adds:

"The excesses of the Poles are out of proportion to the acts of violence committed by Ukrainians. I have reported the latter from time to time in my messages. They consist chiefly of individual acts of incendiarism and cutting telegraph wires. They are reported in the Polish and Ukrainian papers, but the Polish brutalities, which are systematic and on a terrible scale, are not reported at all.

The Ukrainians, of course, want home rule and have been struggling for it in various ways. In this struggle their occasional acts of violence—which are nearly always reprisals for arrests made by the Poles, or for sentences, sometimes of death, passed on Ukrainian prisoners—are of very small significance. They are also discouraged by the Ukraine leaders, and the Ukraine people as a whole cannot be held responsible for them, yet it is the Ukrainian people as a whole who are now being made to suffer. The Polish "punitive expeditions," of which I am about to give details, are not directed against individuals but against a whole people, particularly against its co-operative creameries and institutes—its whole civilisation, in fact. Whatever excesses may have been committed by individuals on either side, it is the fact that the Polish police and cavalry are carrying out a policy of terrorisation and that the victims are almost all ordinary people who have nothing to do with politics, whether Polish or Ukrainian."

The charge of wholesale retaliation is made by John Elliot, the correspondent of the New York Herald-Tribune, who writes:

"Unfortunately, in the discharge of their duty of restoring order, the Polish troops are punishing indiscriminately the innocent with the guilty and so kindling a spirit of sedition and revenge among the Ukrainians living in East Galicia, who look back with regret upon the easy-going pre-war Austrian rule."

The same correspondent gives the following explanation of some acts of incendiaryism:

"The Ukrainians assert that in many cases the Poles themselves have burned their barns and silos in order to collect insurance. With grain drawing such low prices these days owing to the world-wide overproduction, it is often more profitable to destroy the crops than to sell them.

"The Ukrainians also claim that in a number of instances Communists have perpetrated crimes against the Polish farmers."

THE "PACIFICATORY" METHODS.

The methods used by the Polish punitive expeditions are thus described by Mr. Elliot:

"The 'pacificatory' system of the Polish soldiers consists of raiding a village suspected of being implicated in the destruction of the farm of a neighboring Polish landowner. The principal men of the village—the mayor, priest, heads of co-operative societies and leaders of sports and reading clubs—are summoned before the commander of the Polish detachment. The Ukrainians are required to give information regarding acts of incendiaryism and to hand over all arms. If their answers are considered unsatisfactory—and this is generally the case—they get sixty or ninety blows from the knout, which used to be employed in Poland only by emissaries of the Russian Czar. If the victims faint under the blows, they are sometimes revived by throwing cold water over them, and then flogging begins anew."

"The Polish soldiers have been no respectors of sex, and in many villages women have been subjected to these merciless whippings. Sometimes in their search for arms the soldiers remove the thatched roofs from the cottages and then depart, leaving the hapless occupants exposed to the less brutal treatment of the elements."

The accuracy of Mr. Elliot's description is corroborated by Miss Mary Sheepshanks in her report on the atrocities perpetrated in Eastern Galicia of which she made a special investigation on the spot.

Miss Sheepshanks, who is a daughter of the late Bishop Sheepshanks, was at one time head of Morley College, then secretary to the "Fight the Famine" organisation, and has for several years been secretary of the Women's International League at its headquarters at Geneva. In her report which is based on interviewing a number of peasants and workmen from different villages, who were still suffering from the frightful beatings inflicted on them, we read the following statement pertaining to the methods used by the expeditions:

"In each case the general plan followed was similar, and showed clearly that it was ordered from headquarters. In some cases the attack on the village was made by cavalry, in others by police squads; the time chosen was generally night; the village was surrounded, machine-guns set up. Some soldiers were detailed to levy contributions in live stock, grain, and sometimes cash from each household. Others forced the villagers to wreck their reading-room, library and co-operative store, and for these operations they were not allowed tools but had to use their hands, which were often torn and bleeding, in fact used to the bone. They were then made to sign a declaration that they had carried out the demolition of their own free will. A third detachment rounded up the leading men of the village, especially the keeper of the co-operative store, the custodian of the reading-room, and others, including the schoolmaster and the priest. These men were then driven into a barn, stripped, held down, and beaten with the thick sticks used for threshing. The beating was continued till the men lost consciousness; they then had cold water poured over them and the beating was resumed. Very often 200 or 300 blows were inflicted, so that the flesh was horribly torn, and in the case of the men we saw the wounds were still unhealed and raw after two months. In many cases bones were broken, in some cases death ensued."

The plight of the villagers harassed by requisitions can be seen from the following account of Mr. Elliot:

"When the troops enter a village they requisition grain, milk, bread, eggs and vegetables, of course, without payment. The community so visited must pay not only for food and drink for soldiers, but even for "smokes." Some unfortunate villages have been raided three and even four times by troops. Ukrainians told me that the horrors they have undergone in the fortnight—it was only at the end of September that the Polish troops commenced their punitive expeditions—exceeded the miseries they experienced in the World War or in the Russo-Polish War in 1920."

"The Manchester Guardian's" correspondent cites many cases from what he calls the "wealth of material" that has come into his possession, concerning outrages perpetrated by the Polish detachments who are still "pacifying—to use the official term—the Polish Ukraine." Among these we find the following:

"In the night of September 14 a cavalry detachment at Stary and Nowy Jaryczow thrashed some thirty of the villagers with their riding crops.

"On the sixteenth some Polish cavalymen arrived in the village of Gajda near Lemberg. On the way there they had caught some peasants who were going to work in the fields, and beat them unmercifully.

"They commandeered a large quantity of food stocks. They caught a number of peasants, men, women, and children, and beat each one in turn, until the victim lost consciousness.

"Cold water was then thrown over him, and the beating was sometimes renewed when consciousness returned.



Philip Tanchin of Reklinetz, district of Bibrka, is classified as only "slightly flogged."



A sample of wanton destruction of property. A building unroofed by Polish police at Zelena, district Buczacz.



The stage of a village theatre in Haii near Lwiw, after the "search" by the Polish soldiers.



Results of "pacification" on the body of Gregory Artemiw of Borintze, district of Bibrka.

"Iwan Romyszyn and his son and daughter were so beaten that they were left in a dreadful condition, and so were the two children of the mayor of the village.

"Damian Prus was so roughly handled that his leg was broken.

"The co-operative store was demolished by the Poles, and the store-keeper, a woman, flogged. The windows of the village reading-room were smashed. Similar things were done at Podberezce, near Lemberg, on the same day.

"The co-operative store was looted and many of the villagers were beaten; Peter Bubela, a mere boy, was so beaten that his life is in danger.

"In the village of Hurowce, in the district of Tarnopol, foodstuffs were commandeered, the peasants were beaten, and one of them, Oleksa Poltacz, was made to run along the village street and shout 'Long live Marshal Pilsudski!' while several cavalymen ran after him all the time."

On the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of September, this informant also states, cavalry detachments raided several villages, made ruinous destruction, and many peasants were terribly beaten, some of them beaten to death. He gives the names of those beaten to death, and continues:

"A peasant named Teodor Czajkowski was beaten to death in the village of Dolzance. On the twenty-third the police arrived at Pokropiwna (Tarnopol). Many of the peasants were seized and compelled to kiss 'the Polish soil' and to utter insults about 'Mother Ukraine.'

"The village schoolmaster, Mikola Antoniak, his wife Anna, as well as a number of other villagers (whose names are in my possession) were very gravely hurt. The wife of Michael Szkolnyj was forced to sing the Polish National Anthem while she was being flogged. The village store was demolished. The contents were piled up, soaked in paraffin oil, and set alight. The creamery and the reading-room library were destroyed.

"Similar things were done in many other villages (I have in my possession some thirty further names of men, women, and children who were so maltreated that their condition is grave).

"Nor were the towns spared—Nowe Siolo, Rohatyn, Brzezany, among others, were invaded by detachments of police.

"The Ukraine co-operative reading-rooms, libraries, and institutes were demolished, tables, chairs, books, earthenware, stoves, crockery, and pianos were smashed, floor-boards were torn up, clothes and bedding were slashed about with knives. At Tarnopol the library of 40,000 volumes was destroyed."

POLISH OFFICIAL DENIALS

The stories of the atrocities perpetrated by the Polish expedition printed by the European and American press were, of course, officially denied by the Polish Government. The Polish ambassador in Washington issued an invitation to foreign correspondents to go to Poland and "see for themselves." This invitation, coupled with sincere desire to find the true facts of the Polish "pacification," was accepted by some correspondents. A very interesting account of the experiences of one of such correspondents was given by Negley Farson, a special corre-

spondent of the "Chicago Daily News." Here is his story as printed in the "Nation" (January 7, 1931):

"The 'pacification' of the Ukraine brought out such atrocious stories of Polish brutality that the Polish ambassador in Washington, perhaps rashly, issued an invitation to foreign correspondents to go there 'and see for themselves,' an invitation which I was naive enough to accept and which brought about my arrest a week later in the village of Gaje.

In Berlin when the Poles heard I was bound for the Ukraine they hastened to the telephone to assure me of every convenience; in Lwow, of course, I must be sure first to see the 'voivode,' who would arrange everything for me. The 'voivode' is a sort of local district commissioner. In Warsaw, when I announced my intention to the Foreign Office, it was not received with enthusiasm. At the same time strange comments began to appear in the newspapers, one of which said there were foreign newspaper correspondents in the town—'Some are correspondents and some have just come here to find things to say against our fair land. We should simply get rid of them as such.' Of course, said the Foreign Office, I would see the 'voivode' immediately upon arriving at Lwow. He would 'arrange everything.'"

At 9.05 on the snowy morning I arrived in Lwow, the 'voivode' was asleep and therefore not able to "arrange everything," so leaving my card I took a motor car and drove out to the remote village of Gaje, which, it was whispered to me in Warsaw, had been the scene of some of the worst atrocities. Polish roads are quite dreadful in the winter, and the car slithered along on a scum of slippery mud. It was the mud that enabled me to get the information I would not have got otherwise; for when we reached the country crossroad going over the hills to Gaje we were mired, and I had to do the rest of the journey on foot. For some two miles I walked across the bleak, windy hills. A heavy snowstorm had set in, against which some doleful crows were flapping helplessly. And then I passed along a scrappy gray forest (which comes into this story) and in a notch of the hills, huddling from the winter, I found the thatched clay huts of tragic Gaje.

The peasants were out, in conical sheepskin hats, busily engaged wrapping their clay houses in bundles of straw, like overcoats, to keep in the warmth of the stove. Yes, they said, the soldiers had been there. Yes, they had beaten a lot of people—you know what soldiers are. Badly? Well... they had killed Tiutku. How did that happen? Well... Tiutku was afraid... when the boys saw the cavalry riding they ran out and tried to hide in the woods. Then the soldiers flushed them out—just like partridges. They beat them. Tiutku? Well... he must have been weak... he thought he could save himself from further beating if he could get on the good side of the soldiers... help them to find something. There was a machine-gun, he said, hidden in a house he knew in the next village. Aha! said the soldiers. They took him there—and of course there wasn't any machine-gun—they couldn't find anything!

"Why did you lie to us?" asked the officer.

"Because I hate you!" wept Tiutku.

Then the soldiers beat him again and Tiutku died the next day.

That was the story. And I might say that when they knew I had found it out, the political police in Lwow admitted it to me the next day; only they said Tiutku had died of heart failure—as well he might.

Then the police caught me. I had noticed that the peasants were beginning to get frightened as they talked with me. How did they know I might not be an agent of the Poles? Perhaps, they suggested, it would be better if the policeman saw my documents? I agreed, although I knew what it meant, and upon the appearance of that spick-and-span Polish policeman

the wretched peasants became as silent as the grave. Finding that I had no official permission to visit the village, he immediately said he would have to take me back to Lwow. "Orders is orders," said he—and why had I not immediately reported to him upon entering the village? I smiled and the peasants grinned in rueful chorus. He was a decent policeman, doing his job, and we conversed amiably in the straw-filled cart that took us back to Lwow.

But there the scene changed. I was taken to the station of the dreaded "political" police, where in a room gory with the photographs of bomb outrages and local terrorists captured in wrecked homes with blood-spattered walls I was put through a six-hour inquisition which reminded me of nothing less than the grilling I received when I was arrested by the czarist 'okhrana' in 1915. Why had I gone to Gaje? Why had I not seen the 'voivode' first? What had I seen in Gaje? Whom had I talked with in Lwow? Hour after hour, until, beginning to get annoyed, I began to ask questions myself. Did I have a written permission to visit the village? Yes. Did I have to show it to the local policeman as soon as I got there? Yes. "Who's asking these questions," demanded the sinister "political" Inquisitor, "I or you?" I told him that I was—whereupon another policeman was called, and I was taken out into another room, where I remained under guard. It was cold. But the last hour of my incarceration there became warm enough—the talk now centered sharply on my notebook. What had I written in it out in Gaje? I replied that was my affair. If it was an official order that they take it from me, then, I said, I could not prevent them with so many policemen around—but that would place an entirely different complexion on this whole affair. If they took it from my pocket, I assured them, I would report to my Ambassador. The Inquisitor gave me a sickly grin?

"Be a good fellow," he wheedled. "Let me see it—just for me."

This naive request was too much for me, and I told them they must let me go and get my dinner. Aside from being cold and covered with mud, I had had nothing to eat the whole day. So at ten o'clock that night they let me go—followed by spies who were as adhesive as my shadow from then on.

Lwow is a sophisticated provincial town pollenized with the cultivated tastes and desires of the sons of country landowners, and that night I had the peculiar experiences of eating an excellent late supper in the very presence of the smart officers of the crack Fourteenth Cavalry Regiment who, according to the peasants in wretched Gaje, had beaten their comrade to death.

I finished my French wine, with the orchestra playing "Victoria and Her Hussar," and went out into the lobby to find my spy waiting for me—a particularly ugly girl in rubber boots.

The next day, in a tiny makeshift hospital protected by the sacred walls of the Uniate church, I saw eleven peasants in such a state that I could hardly bear to look at them. Their buttocks had been beaten to a pulp. Some of them had been lying there five weeks, attended by the kindly nuns. Bandages were removed, showing raw red septic sores some six inches in diameter that it seemed nothing less than extensive skin grafting could ever make whole again. They were merely a few from the hundreds of villages that had been "visited" by the soldiery. One man of sixty-two told me how the cavalry had ridden into his village, driving the peasants before them like cattle. The peasants had been herded into a shed where twenty of the males were laid across planks and flogged with heavy sticks. When a man fainted he was revived by dashing cold water upon him—and flogged again. Fifty other peasants were coming to this hospital to have wounds treated. Hundreds of others lay in far villages, unable to receive medical attention as the Ukrainian doctors who tried to get out to them were arrested. This is a matter of fact.

It is also a fact that not one of these people had a single charge against him. They had merely been "pacified" by the Poles.

FURTHER CONFIRMATIONS OF GRUESOME FACTS.

Acting on the suggestion of its Berlin correspondent, who advised an immediate and impartial investigation on the scene of the tragedy, the Manchester Guardian sent a special correspondent to the Ukraine for that purpose. He not only corroborated the main facts about the "pacification" of the Ukraine as they had been published by his paper, but also brought out some new painful aspects of the situation. Describing the plight of eleven Ukrainian peasants, who were terribly beaten by the Polish soldiers, he adds:

"Besides these eleven there are about fifty in Lwow who have so far recovered that they can walk about.

"They come to the hospital daily to have their bandages changed or a new plaster put on. The total of those who were beaten is not known. It probably goes into many hundreds. Those who were beaten so as to be gravely injured must number many scores, nor is it possible to tell how many were killed (the Poles themselves admit that there were five, though they say that three of these were killed while trying to escape, and that two died because they were ill).

"But several have died of the beatings. Michael Petrushka, who lived in the village of Nowy Wielky, for example, ran away in terror and was caught and beaten. Then he broke away again, but was caught. He died of his injuries on October 25th.

"Many of those who are still prostrate after beatings that were given weeks ago are lying in their own cottages without proper medical attention, for Ukrainian doctors are not allowed to visit the villages, which are so closely watched by Polish police that no ambulance work is possible."

That medical help was refused to the victims of the "pacification" we have the evidence of Miss Mary Sheepshanks, who made a special investigation on the spot for the Women's International League. She reports:

"One terrible feature of the whole procedure was the refusal of medical treatment to the victims. Doctors were forbidden to go out of the towns to the villages, and peasants attempting to come into the towns for treatment were turned back by the police. In many cases the wounds have gangrened, and either death or lifelong injury has resulted. As is inevitable when a helpless peasantry is handed over to the armed soldiers and police to do as they like, numerous excesses of all kinds have occurred. A priest, Mandziy, after receiving 200 blows on the back and having water thrown over him, was then turned over and the police stamped on his chest and beat him on the belly and legs; in his agony he begged to be shot. The police were at the time cooking their meal near by; they took the boiling food and threw it over his wounds. Shortly after this his death was announced by the Polish press, but, unfortunately for himself, he still lingers on in torture. His sister, who lived with him, was then beaten and his house broken up.

"In another village there was a Jewish doctor who wished to dress the wounds, but was forbidden to do so. The Polish hospitals have refused to take in the victims, and in many cases the local doctor has fled for fear of arrest, as several doctors found dressing wounds of the victims were imprisoned.

"Evidence in support of this statement was given to us by doctors, and a list is in our possession of cases of wounds with names, age, and village

of the victims. These include cases of necrosis, hemorrhage, broken ear-drums caused by blows on the head, and gangrene.

"In order to prevent medical reports being drawn up the houses of Ukrainian doctors in the towns were searched by the police; even the jam-pots and children's toy-cupboards being searched for documents or photographs."

A number of persons injured, and whose property had been pillaged and looted by soldiers and police, sought the assistance of the lawyers at Tarnopol but, as Miss Sheepshanks' report states, "lawyers, too, were forbidden to take any action in defence of their clients." She adds:

"For merely taking down statements of their clients' cases they were seized by the police, who searched their houses. Five lawyers were imprisoned. In one case the wife, who acted as her husband's secretary, had helped in drawing up a statement. She was taken to the police station, stripped in front of the police, and imprisoned in various prisons for two months, then in despair and misery she refused all food, and was finally released."

The "Guardian's" correspondent found it very difficult to investigate the facts of the situation because of the attitude of the Polish officials. He tells us:

"Even the inquiry into the number of killed and injured which the Ukrainians themselves had begun has now become impossible, for those who attempt to make inquiries are simply arrested, and (if they are Polish subjects) thrown into prison."

WOMEN AND CHILDREN NOT SPARED.

Miss Sheepshanks fully substantiates the charges made by foreign correspondents that women and children were in for their share of cruel flogging, saying in her report:

"In some cases women, children and very old men, were flogged. We saw a boy of 13, whose leg was broken by the soldiers, and the bone was so injured and inflamed that it will not heal. We saw also a man of 63 who has now been ill for ten weeks as a result of his beating.

"In another case the wife of a priest who was severely ill was told by the police to get up, and on being unable to do so was dragged from her bed and beaten until insensible. Her two daughters, aged thirteen and seventeen, were similarly beaten.

"Naturally, as in all such cases, there were attacks on women. We possess the names of persons and of villages who were mistreated in various ways, and we possess signed statements as to the damage done.

"Evidence was also confirmed by other eye-witnesses of the events, women belonging to various women's organisations, by lawyers, deputies, doctors, and clergy, in particular by bishops, who have so far been immune from personal violence, and who are in close touch with their clergy and with the inhabitants."

STORIES OF EYE-WITNESSES.

The truthfulness of the reports of foreign correspondents and Miss Sheepshanks had been amply proven by many eye-witnesses, who happened to be in the Ukraine during the "pa-

cification" and whose stories were printed in the English, Canadian and American press. Arrest and gruelling "third degree" examination were the lot of Dr. W. F. Dey, former Winnipeg physician, who has now a practice in Carlsbad, a famous European Spa. His experiences are related by the Winnipeg Evening Tribune as follows:

"The season being over at Carlsbad, Czecho-Slovakia, early in October last year, Dr. Dey decided to motor with some friends to Paris for a holiday by way of a roundabout route through Central Europe.

"Stopping at Lemberg, in Poland, Dr. Dey heard for the first time of the terrorism which the Poles were said to have visited upon the Ukrainian citizens in Eastern Galicia, now part of Poland.

"He was told that Polish physicians were refusing to render first aid to the victims of the attacks in 700 Ukrainian villages, and that Ukrainian doctors were prevented from coming to their assistance. On October 20 he visited a Ukrainian village near Lemberg to see things for himself.

"Amazed at what he had seen, he visited two other Ukrainian villages which had been attacked on the following day. In the three villages he saw some 39 Ukrainian men who had been so badly beaten with canes that they required medical treatment. Eight of the men were crippled and had to be carried away on stretchers. Ukrainian co-operative stores and reading rooms had been ransacked and their contents destroyed.

"This widespread terrorism," Dr. Dey declared, "was part of the Polish plan to check efforts of Ukrainian citizens of Poland to retain their national identity."

"While in the last of the three villages which he visited, Dr. Dey was confronted by a Polish political officer, who at the point of a gun conducted him and the party he was with to Lemberg and prison.

"We were each kept in a separate room. From 8 p.m. to 1 a.m. the police questioned me closely, trying to get me to admit I was a newspaper correspondent, or at least some sort of paid agent. I was refused a request to see the British consul.

"The examination continued in the morning. Every half hour some one would come in with a different array of questions, trying to get me to confess that I was something I wasn't.

"After much difficulty Dr. Dey got back his passport which had been taken from him. He found that his permission to stay in Poland had been cancelled. He was ordered to leave Poland by next day, and he left the country by train crossing over to Czernowitz, Rumania."

An account of Philip Kalyinka, a Canadian, who was an eye-witness of one of the punitive expeditions while visiting his relations at Serafinci, a village near the town of Horodenka, is given by the Toronto "Evening Telegram" (November 18, 1930). His story in part runs as follows:

"On the estate of a neighboring Polish landlord some grain had been burned in the field. The villagers claimed that the owner had done it himself to collect insurance and thus make more money than he could have done by selling his grain.

"About 80 gendarmes and police rode into the village in the morning. They started by wrecking the co-operative store owned by the villagers. Then they gathered a crowd of people and made them wreck the building and throw out all the supplies. Rice, sugar and flour were mixed with refuse, so that it would be spoiled; they smashed windows and ripped off the roof.

"They did the same with the Community Hall where the people held their little concerts and dances.

"Then they went into the homes of about 20 of the leading peasants and damaged their property. They beat them with heavy sticks and tried to make them confess that they knew who had burned the crop. Of course, the people didn't know, so couldn't tell. They burned the crops of many of the farmers and fined those that resisted. They stayed in the village about 24 hours and then rode away."

An American citizen, Justine Fedoryszyn of Detroit, had the painful experience of being flogged by Polish soldiers. As reported by the "Detroit Free Press (November 17, 1930), Mr. Fedoryszyn, on June 4 last, arrived at Sarniki, East Galicia, his birth place, to visit home folks. While standing in his father's yard in the afternoon of October 9, a cavalry troop stopped in the road in front of the house. The treatment to which he was subjected at the hands of the soldiers is related by Mr. Fedoryszyn in the following manner:

"Two of the soldiers entered the yard, and asked my name. I told them and they insisted that I go with them. When I asked them for the reason of my arrest, they said that I must go along and ask no questions.

"I was put in a wagon in which there was already one man. Farther on two more prisoners were arrested, and altogether we were taken to a barn and locked up.

"One at a time we were taken out and beaten. I was the last of the five to be called. I showed my passport and American citizenship papers to the officer in charge and objected to the treatment I was receiving. 'That's all right,' the officer replied. 'I'll give it to you the American way.'

"I was then cruelly beaten, receiving about 300 strokes across the back and legs. After that I was ducked head first into a barrel of water several times and thrown into a cellar.

"The next afternoon the same soldiers let me go along with the other four men. No charges were placed against us. We understood that the soldiers had been looking for some men who set fire to some grain in a field.

"After I got back to my father's place I was in bed for four days unable to move. On October 14 I went to Warsaw and reported the matter to the American consul, a Mr. Franklin, who immediately had an American doctor examine me. Afterward I was sent to the American embassy, where I told my experience to Ambassador John C. Wiley.

"I was in Warsaw two days when the ambassador advised me to leave the country and return to the United States as quickly as possible. The ambassador's secretary drove me back to the village of Sarniki, where I hurriedly packed and bid my parents good-bye."

A MATCH UNDER A POWDER MAGAZINE.

Commenting on Mr. Elliott's report on Polish atrocities in the Ukraine, as printed in the New York "Herald-Tribune," the "Outlook and Independent," in the issue of October 29, 1930, writes:

"Mr. Elliott declares that the troops are kindling a spirit of sedition and revenge among the Ukrainians, which is certainly not surprising. Though a majority in the one province of East Galicia, the Ukrainians are a feeble minority in all Poland. Their oppression, like that of the Germans in the Polish corridor, has been a recognized but apparently insoluble problem of

post-war Europe. Since there are some 30 million Ukrainians across the border in Russia—naturally sympathetic toward the Ukrainians in Poland—the harshness of the Polish troops in East Galicia amounts to thrusting a match under a powder magazine.”

This opinion is shared by Miss Sheepshanks who sent to the London “Times” (January 1, 1931) the following excellent and concise summing-up of the situation in the Ukraine:

“I have just returned from Eastern Galicia and found that:

1. The recent police and military raids carried out in hundreds of villages were all done on a plan issued from headquarters.
2. Wholesale and brutal flogging was inflicted on the male population without trial.
3. Contributions in kind were levied as well.
4. Co-operative stores and reading rooms were wrecked.
5. There was great destruction of tools, machinery and household furniture.
6. The priests and their families were beaten.
7. The authorities have taken stringent steps to prevent information being obtained as to the damage done. Doctors and lawyers have their houses searched for documents and photographs and anyone giving information to foreigners is liable to five years' imprisonment.

I spoke to many Poles as well as Ukrainians who deplored the barbarity of communal punishment without trial, and who were emphatic that it would make future peace and conciliation more difficult and play into the hands of the revolutionaries.

The treatment of the Ukrainian minority is an international matter, as the minority treaty signed by Poland guaranteeing civil rights has been infringed.

It is also jeopardising the peace of Eastern Europe, as Polish minorities have interested kinsmen across her frontiers.”

Polish "Elections"

The fact that the punitive expeditions continued until the time of elections to the Sejm and Senate indicates that the main reason for the repressive measures adopted by the Polish Government against the Ukrainian minority was to keep the Ukrainian voters from the polls by intimidation.

The government of Pilsudski decided on getting complete control of both houses of the Polish Parliament for the purpose of effecting a change in the Polish constitution which would strengthen the powers of Dictator Pilsudski. The Ukrainians constitute the largest minority group in Poland and for this reason alone, were set apart for the major share of repressive measures. While other minority groups, such as the Germans or White Russians, were subjected only to organized election abuses, the Ukrainians were severely punished by the punitive expeditions. This does not mean that they were spared such election abuses. In the case of the Ukrainians the Polish "pacification" overshadowed everything else, which explains why more prominence was given by foreign correspondents to election abuses in respect of the German voters in Upper Silesia. Before the elections a veritable wave of arrests swept over the Ukraine. Among the arrested were over twenty members of the Sejm and Senate, some of whom were subjected to frightful mistreatment in the prison of Brest. Voters and candidates were prevented from holding election meetings, and the publication of election literature in favour of the Ukrainian political parties was prohibited. On election days many voters were terrorized and kept from polls. In many cases ballot boxes were plugged.

Negley Farson, the "Chicago Daily News" correspondent, has the following to say in respect of the Polish elections:

"The chief dangers of this last so-called election are the methods by which it was said conducted. I spent election day in the hotly contested districts of Upper Silesia and saw force and fraud working at its hardest. The Germans poll nearly half of the votes in some sections of this vicinity, yet I came upon at least two booths where no German voting lists were to be had.

"This was done by a simple process. Outside the doors of each of the polls stand several men, each of whom holds a parcel of tickets numbered with his particular parties. You take as many numbers as you like and put only one in the envelope inside that you want to vote. When I asked for No. 12—the German ticket—men dressed in the uniform of the Polish "insurgents" of the insurrection of 1921, grinned and said that if any German came here to vote he would get a good beating."

Emphasizing the fact that Pilsudski treated the Ukrainians and White Russians in a very harsh manner, he adds:

"Perhaps he is a bit too cruel with the Ukrainians and White Russians. But who cares about them? Does Europe? Does America? So why worry.

"Poland under an iron hand is steering to its magnificent future.

"The minorities got thirty-nine seats instead of the seventy-two they formerly had, a drop from one-sixth to one-tenth of the representation—although they are really one-third of the population."

The report of Mr. Farson is substantiated by the correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian," writing from Kattowice:

"I visited several of the remoter polling stations. Wishing to test the fairness of the procedure, I asked the men outside one of these outlying polling stations for the German ticket, but there was none to be had. In this way hundreds of Germans living in the neighbourhood are deprived of their vote. Two 'insurgents,' swarthy unshaved men, their uniform adorned with several Polish medals, came up. 'What about the German ticket?' I asked. They grinned broadly, and one of them explained with gesticulating vivacity that Germans were not tolerated in Poland. He finished by going through the motion of thrashing a German with a cudgel, twisting his mouth in grim hatred. I understood well enough that no German could venture near this polling station with impunity. Besides, in the absence of ballot papers with his number there would be little use in his trying."

Another correspondent of the Guardian, writing from Bydgoszcz (Bromberg), gives the following account of usual Polish election tricks:

"The commonest is simply to disqualify the 'lists' of the Opposition. Poland has an advanced system of P.R., and, as in Germany, the electorate votes not for individual candidates, but for party lists of candidates. Such a list is only allowed if it is signed by fifty persons who are qualified by Polish citizenship, age, and so on to give their signatures.

"The German minority at Graudenz submitted a list which, for safety's sake, was accompanied by a hundred signatures. The Poles, it was thought, might disqualify a few of these signatures, but not fifty-one. As a matter of fact, the Poles have disqualified fifty-eight, and so the Germans at Graudenz have been disfranchised. Signatures are disqualified by various subtle devices—for example, it is quite a common thing for a so-called "graphologist" to be asked to decide whether the signatures are forged or not, and he is, of course, only too willing to say they are, in which case redress is rarely possible. Or some unknown persons declare that the signatories are not Polish subjects, or are minors, whereupon they are simply disallowed without any appeal.

"Individual voters are also disqualified in great numbers—for example, they are informed, say, on the 15th of the month that there are doubts as to their Polish citizenship, but if they prove the contrary on the 14th of the same month these doubts will be removed and they will be entitled to vote. Then, when they do prove the contrary to the satisfaction of the local authorities, they are told that this is all very well, but they should have done so not later than the 14th. When they ask how they could have done so on the 14th, seeing that they were only informed on the 15th, they are told with a shrug of the shoulders that regulations are regulations and that they will not be able to vote. The number of persons who have been deprived of the franchise either by individual disqualification or by disqualification of party lists probably amounts to hundreds of thousands, perhaps even to a million by now, and will no doubt grow between now and Sunday."

"The triumph of force and fraud" — is how the Warsaw correspondent of the same daily characterizes the Polish elections.

One of the greatest election abuses was the imprisonment of many opposition leaders, principally members of Parliament, among them over twenty Ukrainians. Many of them were incarcerated in the prison of Brest-Litowsk where they were subjected to terrible mistreatment.

The affair of Brest-Litowsk, which together with the matter of the punitive expeditions in East Galicia is now the subject of parliamentary discussion in Warsaw, was publicly denounced in an open letter from the professors of the Cracow University, signed by forty-six professors of all faculties, including a bishop and three other Catholic ecclesiastics.

The "Horrors of Brest-Litowsk" were the subject of the Commission of Inquiry into the conditions of political prisoners set up by the Labor and Socialist International. Its report, in part, reads as follows:

"The officers and non-commissioned officers insulted the prisoners and smacked their faces at every opportunity. They placed them in dark cells on the least pretext. They made them clean the closets with their own hands. They tortured them physically and morally with unbelievable refinements of cruelty. They vented their rage more particularly against Bagiński, Popiel, Barlicki, and Korfanty. The officers, revolver in hand and accompanied by non-commissioned officers, entered their cells during the night, made the prisoners go into a room specially prepared for this purpose, covered their heads so that they should not be able to recognise their tormentors, stripped them naked, and then had them punched, kicked, and beaten with sticks. If the victims fainted they were restored with cold water and beaten again. The scene lasted for three or four hours.

"On another occasion they were stripped of their clothing, made to turn their heads to the wall, after which revolver shots were fired around them. Firing in the prison yard was organized so as to make them believe that some of them had just been executed. Frequently they were informed that they were to be immediately executed; they were taken to the place of execution and then brought back to their prison. . . . During the whole period of their detention they had no direct contact with the outside world. They were forbidden to receive letters from their families, or even from their counsel. On the other hand, they were forced to acknowledge the receipt of parcels containing linen or warm clothing which were never delivered to them."

When the members of Parliament suffered such tortures, brutalities and indignities, what then must be the lot of Ukrainian peasants "pacified" by Polish soldiers?

The League of Nations and Minorities

The present situation of the Ukrainians in Poland, the largest single minority group, raises the burning question of the minorities in Europe. By the Treaty signed between Poland and the Allied and Associated Powers on June 28, 1919, certain rights were given to national minorities and placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

The charge generally made is that the League of Nations is very lukewarm in the discharge of its duties as a legal guardian of minorities. It has evolved a set of very peculiar rules of procedure permitting it to reject most of ordinary unsponsored petitions as not "receivable." In respect of the Ukrainian minority, this charge is made by John Elliot in his report on the "pacification" in the Ukraine stating:

"The position of the Ukrainians is also unfortunate, in that, although they constitute by far the largest minority in Europe, they have no one to defend their rights before the League of Nations. The German minority living in Silesia, or the Corridor, for instance, can count on Germany to champion their cause before the League. But the Ukrainian complaints to the League invariably find their way to the scrap basket, as there is no one in the League Secretariat at Geneva who cares anything about these peoples. Perhaps it was the inability of the Ukrainians to obtain a hearing for their grievances before the League as well as the remoteness of East Galicia from western Europe that persuaded the Polish military leaders that they could perpetrate their outrages in the province with impunity."

The same apprehension was expressed by the "Manchester Guardian." Speaking of election abuses in Upper Silesia which were the subject of the German petition to the League of Nations, the Guardian remarks:

"The terrorism which has disgraced Polish rule in Ukrainian Eastern Galicia has been transplanted, in greater or less degree, to Upper Silesia. But it is likely to have a different outcome. The Ukrainians have no one to speak for them; the Silesian minority has the backing of the German Government, which has decided to bring the whole matter before the League Council. It is certainly time that the League began to show a more living interest in the failure of the Minorities Treaties, but it is questionable whether Germany, which is an interested party, is the Power best qualified to raise this matter. Great Britain has no axe to grind, so that our intervention would be far more likely to secure a satisfactory result. It is therefore interesting to know that the Government have asked our Ambassador in Poland for a report on the situation in the Ukraine. That report has now arrived, and perhaps Mr. Henderson, when he has studied it, will see his way to draw the League's attention to the whole question."

The responsibilities of the League of Nations, particularly of the Council, in respect of the minorities in Poland, are very aptly and thoroughly discussed in an editorial of the Guardian

(The Weekly of January 2, 1931). The article which refers to the January session of the Council deserves to be quoted in toto. It reads as follows:

"The next session of the League Council, which will meet in Geneva early in the new year, will be a critical occasion. There has hardly been a Council meeting since the foundation of the League which has not had to deal in some form or other with the protection of those national minorities—foreign groups inside a nation State—which have been specially committed to the guardianship of the Council. That the case of the Germans in Polish Silesia and of the Ukrainians in Polish Eastern Galicia should appear on the agenda does not, therefore, in itself signify much. We are pretty well used by this time to hearing about the petty routine ill-treatment of minorities through the closing of schools and discrimination in the filling of official positions. But the case this time concerns more elementary, more important rights. The Polish Government is accused not of pin-pricks but (in the case of Eastern Galicia) of torture of mediaeval ferocity; it is accused not on hearsay evidence or the testimony of petitioners alone, but by independent neutral witnesses. If the Minorities Treaties mean anything at all, here is the clearest possible case for League action. In the case of Upper Silesia there is also a special obligation on the Council to interest itself. Upper Silesia was divided between Germany and Poland only with great hesitation. The rights of the two minorities were confined to the care of a special resident League official. Rightly or wrongly, the League has taken a more direct interest in the Upper Silesian minorities than in any others. Open disregard of the treaties here must inevitably touch the League more closely than elsewhere. As to Eastern Galicia, the Allies at Versailles only very reluctantly recognized the armed seizure by Poland of the district at a time when it was officially under their own sovereignty. Great Britain then, in the person of Mr. Lloyd George, recognized clearly enough the danger of terrorism and misrule. The territory was ceded to Poland with grave misgiving and only on the most solemn promises of fair and impartial government. Those promises have been broken. "The honour of three members of the Council at least—France, Italy, and Britain—should compel them to see the Ukrainian wrongs redressed.

"What are the prospects of redress? The case of the German minority at least seems assured of a hearing, as the German Government has taken action under article 12 of the Minorities Treaty, which allows any member of the Council to bring to that body's notice any 'infraction or danger of infraction of the provisions of the treaty.' The use of this article prevents the common side-tracking of petitions either on the ground that they are not "receivable," which may merely mean that their language is not diplomatic, or because the Committee of Three, which examines petitions declared "receivable," does not think them important. Mr. Henderson has stated in the House of Commons that petitions from the Ukrainian minority have also been received, and that he hopes that the Polish Government's observations on them will be ready in time for the matter to be dealt with at the next session of the Council. Judging from past experience this hope is not very likely to be realized unless some form of pressure is brought to bear on the Polish Government. The 'pacification' of Eastern Galicia took place early in October. It is certainly time that the charges were officially investigated. To postpone action till the spring because of the Polish Government's reluctance would be weak and wrong. There is a way of preventing this. Great Britain could raise the matter under article 12 of the Minorities Treaty (as Germany has done) or, for that matter, under article 11 of the Covenant. This is the only way of making sure that those delays in procedure which often amount to a miscarriage of justice will be avoided. It is of course a serious step to take. No one would urge Mr. Henderson to undertake it lightly, but there is no doubt that a strong case has been made out. It ought to be investigated before the lapse of time has obliterated too much of the evidence on which it rests.

"The handling of these two important petitions will be a test of the Council's sincerity and efficiency. If flagrant abuses like these pass uncorrected, then no minority in need of help dare look with confidence to Geneva. But even if the Council intervenes in these cases the League will have failed partially unless it also takes action to revise its procedure. The case of the German minority in Poland proves that the only way for a petition to secure an early hearing is for the matter to be raised directly by a member of the Council. This is very unfortunate, for it at once makes a political international issue out of what ought to be a question of fact between the minority, its Government, and the League Council as a whole. The powers of the League Council under the Minorities Treaties are carefully limited. It cannot deal with general grievances but only with special complaints of specific wrongs under the treaty in question. Naturally the Government whose conduct is attacked is forbidden to take part in the decision. With equal propriety the Governments of neighbouring States or of States related racially to the petitioning minority are barred from service on its committees of inquiry. But in the present European situation this does not in fact make for impartiality. In the case of the German minority in Poland, for example, Poland and Germany are rightly excluded; but in practice Poland can rely on the friendly aid of her allies. Politics enter into the Council's decisions because Europe is once more a network of alliances and ententes, as it used to be before the war. The innumerable promises of the Sultan to treat fairly his Christian subjects were broken with impunity because of the jealousies which split the Concert of Europe. The Minorities Treaties seem to be in danger of going the same way because of the similar factions on the League Council. There is, however, no reason why these political considerations should be allowed to destroy the efficiency of the most important experiment yet made in international government. Would it not be better if the petitions were sifted and recommendations made by a Permanent Minorities Commission composed of independent experts, or if far more frequent use were made of the offices of the Permanent Court of International Justice? In any case it is essential to revise the present procedure to allow of ordinary, unsponsored petitions securing a fair hearing, and that quickly."

Several petitions on behalf of the Ukrainians in Poland were received by the Secretariat of the League of Nations before the January session of the League Council. One of these petitions was addressed to the League by a group of sixty odd members of Parliament in London. Some of the petitions, including that by the British members of Parliament were admitted as "receivable" by the League Secretariat. However, they were not placed on the agenda of the January session of the Council as no member of that body was ready to act as sponsor of these petitions. The Council showed its good intentions by appointing a Committee of Three, composed of Mr. Henderson (Great Britain), Mr. Mowinckel (Norway) and Signor Pilotti (Italy), for the purpose of considering the facts of the petitions and reporting on them to the Council.

Meanwhile, the League Council at its January session dealt with the petition presented by the German Government on behalf of the German minority in Poland. The result of the Council's findings was more than satisfactory to the Germans. The Council accepted a report which found that there had been numerous violations of the Minorities Convention in Upper Silesia and that the Polish local authorities were directly and the Polish Government indirectly responsible for acts of violence against members of the German minority. This finding of fact

was followed by a severe admonition to the Polish Government to mend its ways and to report to the next Council meeting the measures it had taken to do so.

Commenting on this finding the "Manchester Guardian" says:

"The importance of the decision was greater than that of the matter to which it referred, for it created a precedent. Moreover, this is the first time that the Council has really tackled a very difficult question and unanimously arrived at a definite decision on it. It is a happy augury for the future.

It is quite evident that, for the first time, the Polish Government is seriously alarmed. After the adoption of the report, Mr. Henderson said it was an achievement of which they had every reason to be proud."

The article concludes with the expression of the following wish:

"If the wrongs of the Ukrainian minority in Poland are heard with the same impartiality as those of the German minority it will be an event of great moral importance that can hardly fail to have at least some practical effect."

Petitions to the League of Nations on Behalf of the Ukrainian Minority

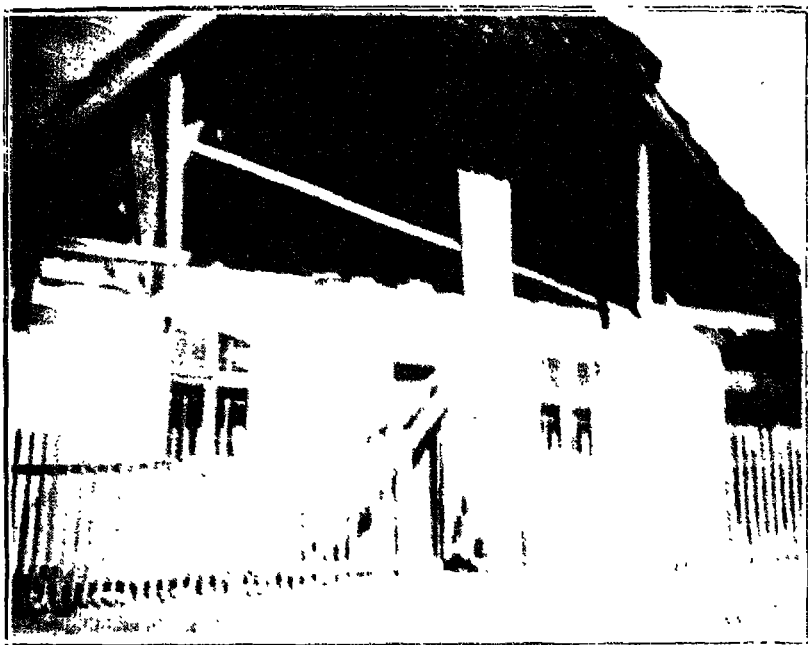
The cruel treatment of the Ukrainians by Poland caused many petitions to be sent to the League of Nations asking the Council of the League to institute a full enquiry into the facts of the whole situation and give effect to its guarantee of the minority rights.

One of such petitions was signed by over sixty members of Parliament in London. This petition they ask Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary General, to lay before the League of Nations on behalf of the Ukrainian minority in Poland, alleging infractions, and the threat of further infractions, of the treaty signed between Poland and the Associated and Allied Powers on June 29, 1919, and placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They ask that the League Council should call a committee to consider the position and ask for an impartial inquiry into the facts.

The petition in part says:—

"With special reference to the recent outbreak in Eastern Galicia, we recognize the right and necessity of the Polish Government to maintain order within its frontiers, but we would draw attention to the fact that, according to evidence which seems to us unimpeachable, punitive expeditions have been sent into at least 700 villages, against a majority of which no terroristic or unconstitutional action has been alleged; that hundreds of men, women, and children have been flogged, some of the floggings being so severe that the victims were prostrate for weeks afterwards; some of them were ruined for life, and some of them were killed; thousands of people have been imprisoned; and that many libraries, clubs and co-operative stores have been sacked and destroyed. The 14th Cavalry Regiment, in particular, seems to have been turned loose in the villages, flogging peasants indiscriminately.

"These actions against the Ukrainian Minority appear to constitute a violation of Article 1, which lays down that Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion." Evidence of these actions could be submitted, if necessary, in the form of a supplementary petition."



Exterior of the Reading Club "Prosvita" of Hain, near Lwów, after the "search" by the Polish soldiers on October 3, 1930



Gangrene—a result of flogging of Cyril Shipra of Pidyarkiw, district of Bibrka.



A dry-goods store of Centrosoyuz destroyed as a result of Polish official "search."



Musical instruments smashed in the Reading Club of Vinniki near Lwiw, under the pretext of "search" by the Polish police.

With the petition the signatories signed a statement on the Polish elections and the Ukrainian minority in Poland, which was presented to the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Arthur Henderson.

The following is the list of the members who signed the petition and statement concerning Ukrainian minority in Poland.

John Arnott	Will Lawther
Walter Ayles	Jennie Lee
James Barr	Wm. Lewis
G. Benson	F. W. Lindley
J. W. Bowen	Fred Longden
A. Fenner Brockway	Gordon Macdonald
C. Brown	Cecil Malone
A. G. Cameron	S. Markham
William Carter	S. March
W. G. Cove	James Marley
G. Dagger	F. Marshall
Rhys Davies	Geo. Mathers
Charles Duncan	James Maxton
Robert Forgan	Jack Mills
Peter Freeman	Ralph Morley
A. G. Gossling	H. B. Morgan
Duncan Graham	G. Muff
H. Graham-White	H. T. Muggeridge
D. R. Grenfell	G. H. Oliver
T. Griffiths	W. Paling
Somerville Hastings	M. Phillips Price
W. Hirst	Ben Riley
P. C. Hoffman	F. F. Riley
Daniel Hopkin	Arthur Shepherd
J. F. Horrabin	Rennie Smith
J. F. Hudson	J. Toole
F. Llewellyn-Jones	James Welsh
J. H. Morris Jones	Wilfred Wellock
J. M. Kenworthy	Wilfred Whiteley
J. Kinley	Ellen Wilkinson
Arthur Law	R. S. Young

The extreme plight of their brothers in the Ukraine deeply affected the Ukrainians in Canada and the United States. Mass meetings were held protesting against the punitive expeditions sent by the Polish Government to "pacify" hundreds of villages in East Galicia. In Canada more than a hundred such mass meetings were held, most of them under auspices of Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada. This central representative organization of Canadian Ukrainians signed on behalf of the Ukrainians in Poland a petition addressed to Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary - General of the League of Nations. In this petition the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada is

joined by over a hundred and fifty Ukrainian organizations which held meetings protesting against the Polish terror. The text of the petition follows:

"To Sir Eric Drummond,
Secretary-General of the League of Nations,
Geneva.
Sir:

We, the undersigned Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, a central representative organization of Canadian citizens of Ukrainian descent, with which many Ukrainian Associations throughout Canada are affiliated, beg you to lay before the Council of the League of Nations the following petition with regard to infractions, and a serious threat of further infractions, by Poland of the stipulations affecting racial religious or linguistic minorities contained in the Treaty signed between Poland and the Allied and Associated Powers on June 28th, 1919. These stipulations constitute obligations of international concern and are placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

In this petition, which we respectfully submit on behalf of the Ukrainian minority in Poland, we are joined by numerous local Ukrainian Associations and bodies which have held mass meetings throughout Canada for the purpose of protesting against the punitive expeditions recently sent by the Polish Government into Ukrainian villages of Eastern Galicia. The names of these Associations are enclosed in a Supplement hereto.

We respectfully submit the following facts which constitute infractions by Poland of the stipulations above referred to:

(1) During the months of September, October and November, 1930, the Polish Government sent punitive expeditions into hundreds of Ukrainian villages situate in the following Counties of Eastern Galicia.—Jaworiw, Horodok (Grodek Jagellonski), Lwiw (Lwow), Zowkwa (Zolkiew), Sokal, Brody, Zboriw, Tarnopil, Zbaraz, Terebowla (Trembowla), Pidhajci (Podhajce), Czortkiw, Horodenka, Berezany (Brzezany), Stanislawiw. Skole, Rohatyn, Bibrka (Bobrka).

These punitive expeditions were sent under the pretext of taking severe Government measures by way of repression of individual acts of sabotage principally acts of incendiarism. Notwithstanding the fact that these were individual acts, and notwithstanding the fact that the three most representative Ukrainian political parties and the Bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church had condemned these acts, the Polish

Government, instead of trying to apprehend the guilty individuals, wrongfully applied the principle of collective responsibility by punishing the Ukrainian population as a whole and even sent such expeditions into many villages where no acts of sabotage or incendiarism had ever occurred.

In the course of these expeditions, extensive damage was done to buildings and their contents belonging to Ukrainian Clubs, co-operative stores, and other institutions. In many cases the buildings of such institutions and their contents were completely destroyed. Material damage was also done to the property of private persons, principally peasants and priests. Requisitions or forced contributions of grain, stock and other farm products were levied. Hundreds of innocent men, women and children were flogged, the flogging being in some cases so severe that the victims were prostrate for weeks afterwards. By order of those in charge of the expeditions, medical help was refused to the victims, in some cases with the result that they were either permanently injured or died of such injuries. Some persons were shot and killed. There were also cases of violation of women.

Throughout the whole of Eastern Galicia and in some localities of Volhynia, thousands of persons were arrested and many more subjected to a thorough search of their persons and property.

The manner in which these punitive expeditions against the Ukrainian minority in Poland were carried out constitutes an absolute infringement of the following provision of Article 2 of the above Treaty:

"Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion."

(2) The fact that these punitive expeditions continued until the time of elections to the Sejm and Senate indicates that the main reason for the repressive measures adopted by the Polish Government against the Ukrainian minority was to keep the Ukrainian voters from the polls by intimidation. With this end in view, the Ukrainian voters and their candidates were terrorized, over twenty Ukrainian Members of the Sejm or Senate having been arrested, and some of them subjected to frightful mistreatment in the prison of Brest.

Election abuses consisted mainly in the imprisonment of candidates who were held without charge or trial, in preventing the voters and candidates from holding meetings for a free discussion of election issues, in prohibiting the publication of election literature in favor of the Ukrainian political parties, in the annulment of several lists of candidates, in striking out thousands of names of voters from the election lists, in terrorizing

the voters on election days for the purpose of keeping them from the polls, and in plugging ballot boxes.

These actions constitute a violation of the following provision of Article 7 of the above Treaty:

"All Polish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion."

(3) In the course of these punitive expeditions many Ukrainian Athletic and Reading Clubs were closed. The most severely punished in this respect was the Association of Plast, organized along the lines of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, with branches throughout Eastern Galicia. Athletic and Reading Clubs were closed in many localities where no acts of sabotage had ever occurred. Two Ukrainian private High Schools (Gymnasias) at Rohatyn and Drohobych, were also closed.

In the course of the last few years the Polish Government closed or handed over to the Roman Catholic Church hundreds of church buildings belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church in Volhynia, Cholm and Polissia, thus depriving thousands of Ukrainians, members of the Greek Orthodox Church, of the right of exercising freely their religion.

These actions constitute a breach of Article 8 of the above Treaty, which contains the following stipulation:

"Polish nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Polish nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein."

The action of closing, or handing over to the Roman Catholic Church, of church buildings of the Greek Orthodox Church, also constitutes a violation of the following provision of Article 2 of the above Treaty:

"All inhabitants of Poland shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals."

(4) Under Article 9 of the above Treaty, racial or linguistic minorities are entitled to adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools their own language be the medium of instruction. No such facilities were provided for the Ukrainians by Poland until July 31st, 1924, when an Act was passed by the Sejm providing that in a town or village with 25 per cent of Ukrainian population, a Ukrainian school may be established

on receipt of an application by the parents of at least 40 children of school age, provided however, that no application is received from the same locality by the parents of 20 children of school age demanding the establishment of a Polish school.

This enactment, while pretending to carry out the provisions of the said Article 9, has virtually destroyed the rights of Ukrainian minorities given them by the said Article, as is shown by the following results.

Notwithstanding the fact that at the beginning of 1925 about 300,000 applications requesting the establishment of Ukrainian schools had been sent in to the Polish Government, the number of Ukrainian schools, instead of increasing, began to decrease. The following short summary will show the net decrease in the number of Ukrainian schools within the last few years:

On December 1st, 1923, there were 3,027 Ukrainian schools in Poland. In every year thereafter, principally after the enforcement of the Act of July 31st, 1924, the number of Ukrainian schools decreased so that in 1930, according to an official announcement made by Mr. Suchenek, of the Department of the Interior, to the representatives of the foreign newspapers in Warsaw, in the month of October, 1930, there were only 716 Ukrainian schools in Poland. This means that between 1923 and 1930 the Ukrainians lost 2,311 Ukrainian schools. This decrease resulted, notwithstanding the fact that the natural increase of Ukrainians remained constant, and the parents of Ukrainian children persistently requested facilities for instruction in schools in the Ukrainian language.

In the course of the recent punitive expeditions further severe blows were dealt to the cause of Ukrainian schools. Not satisfied with closing two private Ukrainian Gymnasias, at Rohatyn and Drohobych, the Polish Government closed a Ukrainian State Gymnasium at Tarnopil.

Having reduced the number of Ukrainian schools to the minimum, on November 29th, 1930, a Presidential Decree was issued, the principal provision of which is as follows:

"A change in the language of instruction can be effected only after a period of seven years from date of legislation of the last decision regarding the language of instruction in the respective school."

These actions constitute a violation of the following provision of Article 9 of the above Treaty:

"Poland will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which considerable proportion of Polish nationals of other than Polish speech are residents, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction

shall be given to the children of such Polish nationals through the medium of their own language."

In view of the urgency and seriousness of the situation, we respectfully urge and request that this petition be immediately submitted to the recently appointed Committee of Three for their consideration and report to the Council of the League of Nations.

Furthermore, we urge you to ask the Council of the League of Nations to institute an impartial enquiry into the facts of this petition, by appointing a commission to investigate the whole situation in Eastern Galicia, and to take such further action and give such directions as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

We trust that this petition on behalf of the Ukrainian minority in Poland will receive the full consideration of the League of Nations, one of whose objects is to secure the faithful carrying out of the treaties for the international protection of the rights of minorities.

Dated at the City of Winnipeg, in the Province of Manitoba, this 24th day of February, A. D. 1931.

Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada,

Per:

W. Swystun, President.

M. Stechishin, Secretary.

S U P P L E M E N T

1. This petition by the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada is subscribed to by all Associations affiliated therewith, to wit:

- (a) The P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute of Saskatoon, Sask., with branches in Edmonton, Alta., and Winnipeg, Man.
- (b) Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, with numerous branches throughout Canada.
- (c) Union of Ukrainian Community Centres, with numerous branches throughout Canada.
- (d) Ukrainian Students' Alliance of Canada, with several branches throughout Canada.

2. The following is the list of mass meetings held throughout Canada by local Ukrainian Associations and local bodies of Ukrainians for the purpose of protesting against the punitive expeditions sent by the Polish Government into hundreds of Ukrainian villages of Eastern Galicia. All these Associations and local bodies join in this petition.

A. PROVINCE OF MANITOBA:

Locality	Mass Meetings held under the auspices of:
Winnipeg	Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada. Branch of Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada. P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute. Union of Ukrainian Community Centres. St. Mary's Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Cathedral. Ukrainian Relief Association, Branch 21. Ukrainian Association Boyan. Ukrainian Students' Club Prometheus. Ukrainian Voice. The Herald.
Menzie	Ukrainian People's Home.
Arbakka	Ukrainian People's Home.
Vita	Ukrainian People's Home. Branch of Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada. Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Ukrainian Relief Association.
Senkiw	Local body of Ukrainians.
Roblin	T. Shewchenko Ukrainian National Home. Ukrainian Greek Catholic National Home. Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
Zoria	Ukrainian People's Home.
Silver	Ukrainian National Home.
Rosburn	Ukrainian National Home. Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
Sandy Lake	Ukrainian National Home.
Dauphin	Ukrainian National Home. Ukrainian Students' Club Mazeppa. Branch of Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada. Ukrainian Relief Association.
Pine River	Ukrainian Community Centre. Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
Brandon	Ukrainian National Home. Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
Tyndall	Local body of Ukrainians.
Ethelbert	Ukrainian People's Home.
Sclater	Ukrainian People's Home.
Patlura	Local body of Ukrainians.
Gilbert Plains	Local body of Ukrainians.
St. Martin	Ukrainian National Home.

B. PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN:

Saskatoon	P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute. Ukrainian National Home.
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Branch of Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada.
 Ukrainian War Veterans Association.
 Ukrainian Students' Alliance of Canada.
 Ukrainian Students' Club Kamenlari.
 Kobylanska Ukrainian Women's Association.
 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
 Ukrainian Teachers' Convention.

NorquayUkrainian People's Home.

WakawUkrainian National Home.
 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
 Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.

VondaUkrainian Community Centre.
 Kobylanska Ukrainian Women's Association.
 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
 Ukrainian Dramatic Club at Delina.

MeachamUkrainian Community Centre.
 Kobylanska Ukrainian Women's Association.
 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.

HamtonUkrainian Community Centre.

Swan PlainUkrainian People's Home.
 Lesia Ukrainka Women's Association.

BienfaitUkrainian Local Associations.

BrooksbyUkrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
 Ukrainian Brotherhood and Sisterhood.

ItunaM. Hrushevsky Association.

Glen ElderUkrainian People's Home.

RatnerFranko Ukrainian People's Home.

PrelateUkrainian Community Centre.
 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.

EatoniaShevchenko Reading Club.

HaffordUkrainian People's Home.
 Branch of Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada.
 Ukrainian Students' Club.
 Ukrainian Literary Society.

MikadoUkrainian National Home.
 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.

ReginaUkrainian Community Centre Prosvita.
 Branch of Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada.
 Ukrainian Students' Club Kamenlari.
 Ukrainian War Veterans Association.

WimmerUkrainian People's Home.

HubbardUkrainian People's Home.

AlvenaLocal body of Ukrainians.
 Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.

CandiaUkrainian People's Home.

TarnopolUkrainian Community Centre.
 Branch of Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada.

Square HillUkrainian Community Centre.
KrydorUkrainian National Home.
RadyjnoLocal body of Ukrainians.
StornowayUkrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
St. JulienUkrainian National Home.
 Branch of Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada
 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
ArranUkrainian People's Home.
KrasneProsvita Ukrainian People's Home.
DanaLocal body of Ukrainians.
MelvilleUkrainian National Home.
SopoffUkrainian National Home.
 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
 Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church.
CalderUkrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
WhitkowUkrainian National Home.
SamburgLocal body of Ukrainians.
VanguardLocal body of Ukrainians.
PrinceLocal body of Ukrainians.

C. PROVINCE OF ALBERTA:

EdmontonP. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute.
 Branch of Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada.
 Kotsko Ukrainian Students' Club.
 Ukrainian National Home.
 Ukrainian Relief Association.
 Ukrainian War Veterans Association.
 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
StryUkrainian Community Centre.
RadwayShakespeare School, local body of Ukrainians.
BufordUkrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
 Ukrainian Community Centre.
EgremontM. Hrushevski Association.
CapponProsvita Association.
 Lesia Ukrainka Women's Association.
 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood.
SpeddenUkrainian People's Home.
HytheUkrainian Laborers' Mass Meeting.
ZawaleUkrainian Community Centre.
 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
Northern Valley
GatzLocal body of Ukrainians.

MyrnamUkrainian People's Home.
 Seech-KolomeaUkrainian People's Home.
 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
 CalmarFranko Dramatic Society.
 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.

D. PROVINCE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA:

VancouverUkrainian Community Centre.
 Ukrainian Relief Association.
 VernonLocal body of Ukrainians.

E. PROVINCE OF ONTARIO:

TorontoUkrainian People's Home Association.
 Branch of Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada.
 Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada.
 Ukrainian Relief Association.
 Ukrainian Students' Club.
 Fort WilliamUkrainian Community Centre Prosvita.
 Ukrainian Relief Association.
 Branch of Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada.
 St. Nicholas Brotherhood.
 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
 Fort FrancesProsvita People's Home.
 Sioux LookoutUkrainian Community Centre.
 WaterfordLocal body of Ukrainians.
 HamiltonUkrainian Relief Association.
 Ukrainian Prosvita Association.
 ThoroldLocal body of Ukrainians.
 CreightonUkrainian People's Home.
 WindsorUkrainian Community Centre.
 Ukrainian Relief Association.

F. PROVINCE OF QUEBEC:

MontrealZaporoska Seech.
 Ukrainian Relief Association.
 Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church.
 Branch of Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada."

* * *

We sincerely hope that the League Council will hear the Ukrainian petitions with the same impartiality as the German petition and thus prove a real guardian of the rights of minorities.

Press Comments on the Polish Terror

The reign of terror in East Galicia not only brought out numerous press comments on the treatment by Poland of the Ukrainian minority, but also aroused a new interest in the Ukrainian question.

"The Nation and Athenaeum" (December 27, 1930) sees "grave cause for anxiety about internal conditions in Poland." Giving a brief account of acts of the Polish terrorism based upon the report of Miss Mary Sheepshanks, formerly head of Morley College, the "Nation" observes:

"Tactics of this kind cannot long remain unexposed, and it is not likely that even Poland's most powerful ally will readily acquiesce in a policy containing so few of the elements of political stability."

The "Observer" (December 28) has this to say on the situation in Eastern Galicia:

"Even those who, on principle, distrust minority scare-mongering begin to be drawn by the accumulating evidence of what has taken place in Eastern Galicia. The Council of the League next month will have unusually precise and impressive facts before it. One of the best, as well as the most illuminating elements in the evidence is the desire of serious Poles that foreign condemnation should help to rid them of these Pilsudski visitations. There is little doubt about the crimes committed. They are of the spectacular kind that invite prompt and drastic condemnation."

"That Dictator Pilsudski has apparently fallen back upon terrorism as the only practical means of making good Poles of the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia" is the opinion expressed by Mauritz A. Hallgreen in the "Nation" (New York, November 5, 1930), who adds:

"Since 1918 Poland has tried in various ways to tame these rebels, first by force of arms, then by a hypocritical show of political kindness, and more recently by education of the character generally applied to minorities throughout Europe. Warsaw has been rewarded for its efforts by seeing the long-smoldering resentment of the Ukrainians, or Ruthenians, against Poland's theft of their independence break out into actual rebellion against Polish domination. The insurrection, according to dispatches from Lemberg published in the Polish, German, and English press, has taken the form of incendiarism, Ruthenian peasants putting the torch to the property of the wealthy Polish landowners who for decades have been the governing lords of the district. Pilsudski has now apparently decided to resort once more to the old imperialistic weapon of military invasion to 'pacify' the inhabitants; but it is still to be seen whether education by terrorism and the knout will be any more successful in enhancing the love of the Ruthenians for Polish rule."

In an article, entitled "Poland Courts a New War," in the "Nation" (January 21, 1931), the same author writes:

"Some weeks ago the Warsaw correspondent of the 'New Leader' of London wrote that he felt it his duty to 'ring the bells of alarm and make them heard in the remotest corners of Europe. A new bomb is being placed under the powder magazines of Europe—a bomb which threatens to blow up the whole edifice of post-war equilibrium. This time the danger comes from Poland and her military-fascist aggressiveness.' The New Leader's correspondent was thinking primarily of the effect upon the rest of Europe of the course the Pilsudski dictatorship has been pursuing. He could foresee nothing but disaster, perhaps a revolution, perhaps another war, arising from the unrestricted dictatorship, the smothering of political freedom, the 'engineered' elections of last November, the tragic 'pacification' of the Ukraine, and the suppression by terrorism of national minorities elsewhere in Poland."

According to Mr. Hallgreen:

"At the moment the future looks dark. With the Pilsudski dictatorship riding roughshod over the Ukrainians, the Germans, and even over large groups of patriotic Poles who dare to disagree with Pilsudski, any small spark may set off a devastating explosion."

Strong in its condemnation of Poland for her treatment of minorities is "The New Statesman," (December 27th, 1930), saying:

"Appeals and protests against the barbarous treatment of the minorities in Poland multiply day by day. We are not much impressed by the familiar type of official denials; the evidence that we have comes from reliable sources and it is overwhelming. In hundreds of villages in Eastern Galicia there has been a veritable reign of terror. Troops have descended on them, and indulged in a campaign of savage flogging and other outrages, together with a systematic destruction of property. The details which we have before us are too sickening to describe. Of course, the Poles may argue that they are forced to deal sternly with a disaffected people, but there has in fact been no such provocation and no such danger to the Polish State as could afford any excuse for the outrages perpetrated on these Ukrainian peasants. Nor is there any excuse that we can see for the miseries and tortures to which a number of the Opposition members of Parliament have been subjected in the prisons into which they were thrown after their arrest a few months ago. In saying all this we are not indicting a nation. The great mass of honest and decent Poles who know the facts are ashamed and horrified at what is being done by their Government. There seems to be no doubt that Marshal Pilsudski is the villain of the piece. Whether he and his agents are amenable to the voice of civilized public opinion we do not know. But the Governments of the western Powers, including our own, who are signatories of the Minorities Treaties, ought to do all that they can to stop this criminal madness. If it goes on, Poland will pay heavily—and so probably will the rest of Europe—when the day of reckoning comes."

Speaking of Polish acts of terrorism in Eastern Galicia, the "Week-End Review" (January 3, 1931), makes the following comment:

"It is the duty of a government to repress disorder, but what we have heard robustly described as a "little healthy black-and-tannery" is not our idea of how best to appease either minorities or outside critics. It is not the disorder but the cause of the disorder that requires investigation; it may be that the cause can be removed, as in our own case in Ireland, by a more liberal attitude. The whole subject will come before the League Council at its next meeting on January 19. Perhaps the best way for the Polish Government to silence its critics would be for it to submit the problem to impartial adjudication at Geneva."

The "Manchester Guardian" (Weekly, November 21, 1930) says:

"There was a time when it might have seemed that Poland would develop peacefully by means of social reform and by reconciliation between the Poles and the subject minorities who make up a third of the population. But the election leaves a class hatred greater than any Poland has ever known—the greatest perhaps in all Europe—and Nationalist hatred more implacable than anything that ever existed in Ireland. The future of Poland is now completely dark. The foundations of a healthy social and national life have been destroyed, and there are many objective observers of Polish affairs who are now convinced that the country is bound to drift toward revolutionary convulsion."

Even such friends of Poland as Wickham Steed, editor-in-chief of the "Review of Reviews" (London), is not sparing in his criticism of the methods employed by Poland in the recent "pacification" of the Ukrainians. He advocates an impartial enquiry into the whole situation in a note on Poland, (Review of Reviews, December 15), which reads as follows:

"In no country is the precise and impartial ascertainment of facts more necessary than it is in Poland, and no country has a greater interest in presenting to the world an irrefutable case. Polish methods of repressing incendiarism and other acts of sabotage, of which sundry Ukrainian groups were guilty last autumn in East Galicia, have been brutal to a degree which reasonable Poles are the first to deplore and condemn. While it may be true that these acts were instigated or encouraged from Berlin, the fact that they were committed justifies neither the neglect of the Polish Government to remove legitimate Ukrainian grievances nor its folly in playing into the hands of its enemies by dragooning whole Ukrainian districts. The folly was the greater because it strengthened the hands of Poland's detractors who lose no opportunity of declaiming against the Polish Corridor and the Upper Silesian settlement. The case for the Polish Corridor is far stronger than the public in Western Europe and in the United States understands. Poland has nothing to lose by an impartial ascertainment of the facts concerning it and, especially, in regard to the position in East Prussia. But Poland or, rather, the 'Cabinet of Colonels,' by which Marshal Pilsudski has thought fit to surround himself, chills many sympathies by the adoption of methods similar to those employed by the old Bolshevik regime in Russia or by the Fascist Dictatorship in Italy."

Very critical of Poland's treatment of the Ukrainian minority is the influential Polish "Ameryka-Echo", (Toledo, Ohio), which in its issue of November 30, has the following to say:

"The present inflamed relations between the Polish government and the Ukrainians is to be wholly attributed to the Roman Catholic clergy, which fanaticizes and incites the ignorant masses to hatred, to sabotage, to incendiarism, to setting of fires to grain and then accuses the Ukrainians of those acts. All those punitive expeditions of the military into the peaceful Ukrainian villages, in particular, into villages where no acts of sabotage were committed, have, by their savage conduct, beatings and tortures of innocent people, achieved this—that the whole civilized world turn away from Poland, while the Ukrainians have been made irreconcilable enemies of Poland

After noting that the United States government was forced to make representations to the Polish government regarding the beating up of an American subject by a detachment of Polish cavalry, the newspaper continues:

"The American Red Cross has despatched its personnel to Eastern Little Poland (Western Ukraine), to treat and dress the wounds of the un-

fortunate victims of the punitive expeditions which treated the Ukrainian population in a manner in which some of the savages of Central Africa were treated in the by-gone centuries."

Special mention deserves an article by Milton Wright, printed under the caption of "The Reign of Terror in the Ukraine" in the "Current History", (February, 1931). The situation in Eastern Galicia affords Mr. Wright an opportunity to give serious thought to the Ukrainian question in Europe.

As this article contains much useful information for the general reader we reproduce below those parts in which Mr. Wright gives a very good exposition of the history of the Ukrainian question. The article reads:

"When glaring accounts of organized raids by Polish soldiers in East Galicia were printed in the American press, the Western World rubbed its eyes with incredulity. Could Poland, with the memory of her own century of dismemberment and suppression still fresh, herself place knouts in the hands of soldiers and send them throughout a captive province to beat an innocent peasantry into submission?

"Galicia, a border country, long has been a sore spot. For centuries it has been a battleground between Poles and Ukrainians; for long years before the war it was coveted by both Austria and Russia. In the World War no spot in Europe was the scene of bloodier battles. It is that part of the Ukraine which lies further west, and is inhabited by 40,000,000 peasants who, for the last three decades, have been waking to a keen sense of national consciousness, until to-day they are active, aggressive and determined at all costs to be independent.

"The country which is completely Ukrainian covers 300,000 square miles, stretching from the Caucasus Mountains in the east to the Carpathians in the west, from the Black Sea in the south to the border of Muscovite Russia 300 miles to the north. Since the time of Herodotus it has been known as the granary of Europe, but grain is by no means the only item in its vast natural wealth. Its deposits of iron and coal are among the largest in the world; its oil wells, especially those in Galicia, are wonderfully rich; immense quantities of tobacco and sugar beets are grown. These natural resources are the Ukraine's strength and weakness—the basis of self-sufficiency if the people can attain their independence, a rich prize eagerly coveted by every powerful neighbor.

"Time was when the Ukraine in its entirety belonged to the Ukrainians, a separate and distinct branch of the Slavic race, with its own language, history, folklore, culture and political ideals. Since the end of the eighteenth century, however, it has been split, the large eastern portion coming under the dominion of the Russian Czar, and the smaller western portion, East Galicia and Bukovina, falling to the Emperor of Austria. Though divided politically in this way, the Ukrainians have remained one in culture and political aspirations.

"With the collapse of the Russian Empire the natives of the Russian Ukraine seized the opportunity to establish their own republic. After two years of turbulence and upheaval, Simon Petlura, a newspaper editor, began the defense of the country against the Russian Bolsheviks invading from the north, and against the Russian Monarchists, first Denikin and then Wrangel, who attacked the Ukraine from the south. When the Austrian Empire fell, the Poles, Czechs, Serbs and other nationalities included in the Dual Monarchy asserted their right to independence. Among the first of these were the Ukrainians of East Galicia. They proclaimed their freedom and declared for union with the Ukrainian Republic established in the Russian Ukraine.

"Twenty-four days later—in the Fall of 1918—the Republic of Poland was proclaimed. One of the first acts of the new Polish Government was the invasion of East Galicia. The Ukrainians, with a force of 160,000 men covered a 300-mile front, resisted stubbornly, but the Poles triumphed after nine months of hard fighting. Establishing an iron militaristic rule in East Galicia, the Poles pushed on into the Russian Ukraine after the Ukrainian Army of East Galicia, which had joined forces with General Petlura. Taking their stand at Kamnietz-Podolsk, the Ukrainians formed the famous "Triangle of Death" against their three powerful foes, the Russian Monarchists on the south and the Poles on the west. To save his force from annihilation, Petlura concluded an alliance with the Poles. Together the Poles under Pilsudski and the Ukrainians under Petlura fought on against the Bolsheviks. But they fought without the Galician Ukrainians. Two-thirds of these were dead, some on the field of battle, some from the ravages of typhus. The remnant cut their way through the Polish lines and carved a path across Galicia over the boundary into Czechoslovakia, where they laid down their arms.

"The Polish-Bolshevist War ended in March, 1921, and a treaty was signed under which Poland abandoned Petlura and his cause of Ukrainian independence, recognized a Russian Soviet Ukraine, subservient to Moscow, and received in return the Russian Soviets' recognition of Poland's claims to rule over not only Galicia, but also Volhynia and Polysse, two Ukrainian provinces which, before the war, had been held by the Czar. These three provinces are inhabited by 7,500,000 Ukrainians, with small minorities of Jews, Germans and Poles. When in the same year the Allies recognized this treaty, which ceded Galicia to Poland, the hopes of the Galician Ukrainians were temporarily crushed. Thus the Ukraine alone of all the nations formerly subject to Russia or to Austria failed to achieve independence. But hopes have not been abandoned. Scattered throughout Europe to-day are approximately 100,000 Ukrainian emigres—soldiers, writers, politicians—all of them planning for an independent Ukraina.

"The Russian Ukraine, a semi-independent State under the thumb of Moscow, is seething with rebellion. Guerrilla warfare is going on constantly, which reports from Moscow declare are the action of roving bandits or of reactionaries. Only a few months ago forty-five Ukrainian leaders, were tried at Kharkov for treason on the charge that they were seeking to ally themselves with western powers against Moscow. Uprisings are frequent, and it is not uncommon to learn of the trial of 100 men at once for rebelling against the local Soviet authorities."

Referring to a secret Ukrainian military organization, Mr. Wright proceeds:

"It is significant that the most important movement of the Ukrainians of Galicia has been along educational rather than military lines. Hundreds of thousands of members have been enrolled in an association known as 'Prosvita' (Enlightenment). This organization alone has built more than 3,000 libraries in East Galicia with contributions from the peasants. In nearly every village it has established a Ukrainian chorus and a Ukrainian amateur theatrical society. About 1,500 co-operative stores have been organized, and about 1,000 banks and loan establishments have been founded. High schools and institutions of higher education were established with funds raised from the peasantry, augmented by from \$100,000 to \$200,000 received from America each year for the purpose. About 3,000 athletic and scout societies were organized with membership totaling from 150,000 to 200,000.

"The outstanding achievement, however, was the Ukrainian University established at Lemberg. This the Polish Government suppressed, whereupon the Ukrainians hit upon the idea of a secret university. Handicapped by the necessity of holding each successive set of classes in a different place, in order to evade the police, this peculiar educational institution

functioned for two years before it was effectively broken up by the Polish authorities. As a last resort the Ukrainians then organized a national university in exile. Located in Prague under the auspices of Thomas Masaryk, President of Czechoslovakia, as honorary protector, this university began with 2,000 students and 50 professors.

"With such strong national consciousness, the Galician Ukrainians naturally were not idle politically. At the Polish election in 1928 forty-one Ukrainian Deputies were elected to the Polish Sejm or Parliament. In fact, the 4,000,000 Ukrainians in Galicia and the 3,500,000 in Volhynia and Polysse constitute the largest minority in Poland.

"The allied powers suggested originally that the Ukraine be given autonomy—actually there is a treaty to that effect—but Poland, instead, set out to Polishize the country. The first effort was in the direction of colonization. The government monopolized the sale of landed estates a special bank. Landlords were permitted to sell only to the bank, which in turn sold only to Poles. Here and there farm buildings owned by Polish officers or colonists began to be burned.

"The sessions in the Sejm at Warsaw were turbulent. Ukrainian, Jewish and German Deputies demanding their rights stood firm. Pilsudski dissolved the Sejm and ordered new elections, determined that the new Parliament should be more predominantly Polish than the old one. It seemed a fitting time to impress upon the opponents of Pilsudski the power of the dictator. The Ukrainians, as the strongest minority in Poland, were singled out for a lesson."

Recounting the events connected with the Polish punitive expeditions in Eastern Galicia, Mr. Wright adds:

"Genuine autonomy, with some responsibility to Warsaw, might have been acceptable a year ago, but today nothing less than complete independence will satisfy the Galicians. There is now in Galicia a new and rapidly growing party—the Ukrainian Nationalist party, a type of Fascist political organization opposed to any foreign rule in any part of the Ukraine. This is in addition to the Ukrainian parties which are still functioning—the Ukrainian National Democratic party, a liberal, progressive organization supported by the intelligentsia, the bourgeoisie and the richer peasants; and the Ukrainian Peasant party, supported largely by the smaller peasants. The numerical strength of the Communist party is negligible.

"In the Russian Ukraine guerrilla warfare is still being carried on, and an organization known as the Committee for the Liberation of Ukraine is actively at work in Poltava, Chernikow, Kiev, Ekaterinoslav and other provinces. Galicia, however, is recognized as the heart of the Ukrainian movement, dangerous alike to Soviet Russia and to Poland."

Polish "Pacification" and The Times

All foreign correspondents and observers who investigated personally the unfortunate situation in Eastern Galicia are unanimous in their condemnation of the Polish Government for the sending of punitive expeditions into hundreds of Ukrainian villages. A discordant note in this chorus of condemnation of Poland is struck by the Warsaw correspondent of the Times (London). This correspondent does not deny the fact that Poland committed atrocities which he himself calls "most culpable excesses," but he attempts to excuse the Polish Government for the severe methods of reprisals directed against the Ukrainians of East Galicia. In his report on the situation in Eastern Galicia the Times correspondent openly sides with the present Pilsudski Government. He is not so much concerned with a description of the situation in Galicia created by recent punitive expeditions as he is interested in the official attitude of the Pilsudski Government on the question of Eastern Galicia.

Speaking of the promised autonomy for Eastern Galicia, he says:

"The Allied Powers had conceived a plan of giving Poland a mandate over Eastern Galicia for 25 years, but eventually they recognized the whole of the Polish eastern frontier in the consideration that it was acknowledged by Poland, so far as concerned Eastern Galicia, that ethnographical conditions required a system of autonomy."

Why was this autonomy not granted to the Ukrainians? This question is very important, because a grant of autonomy would in a measure have contributed at least to a partial solution of the Ukrainian question in Poland.

To the above question the Times correspondent gives the following answer:

"The reason why autonomy has not been granted is a simple one. The relations of the two peoples have continued so strained that there has not been the slightest ground for expecting that autonomous institutions would be made to work, or would do anything but widen the area of friction. While the difficulties of getting the Galician Poles to treat the Ukrainians as equals are admittedly great, the policy and behaviour of the Ukrainians during the last decade have rendered conciliatory intervention by the Central Government futile."

Did the Poles ever try to grant autonomy to Eastern Galicia? Apparently not, and, if we have to take the opinion of this correspondent, such an attempt would be futile because of an open hostility of the Ukrainians to the Polish state. Says he:

"The attitude of all but an insignificant minority of the Ukrainian parties and organizations has been one of declared hostility to the Polish State, and the politicians have been avowed secessionists, not home-rulers. I cannot do better than quote the following extract from a conversation with one of the most representative of Ukrainian leaders: "We are fundamentally disloyal. We do not want peace. If our people are allowed to enter into friendly cooperation with the Poles they may cease to cherish the dream of an independent Ukraine, which we hope to realize in 30 or 40 years' time. Whatever is done for us, we must always be discontented."

If such be the attitude of the Ukrainians, then, in the opinion of this correspondent, the result can be only this:

"While this state of affairs lasts a Polish Government can no more introduce an autonomous regime than a British Government could persuade Ulster to unite with a Southern Ireland in which there was a Republican majority."

That the present dissatisfaction among the Ukrainians in Poland may be directly traced to the failure on the part of Poland of granting autonomy to Eastern Galicia, does not even enter the thought of the Times correspondent. It is a very well known fact to all political observers that insistent demands for complete national independence can be tempered, temporarily at least, if the existing rights of the subject race are enforced. That these rights are not being enforced with respect to the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, is proved even by the Times correspondent who admits that the Poles have not attempted to grant autonomy to Eastern Galicia.

Blaming the present unrest in Eastern Galicia on a secret Ukrainian organization which is alleged to have been instrumental in organizing acts of sabotage and incendiarism, and giving a short description of the methods alleged to be used by this organization, he concludes:

"The Polish Government then decided on extraordinary measures, as any other Government in a similar emergency must have done."

These "extraordinary measures" of the Polish Government are described in the following manner:

"The method chosen was to send a few squadrons of an East Galician cavalry regiment and 1,000 police, who were specially drafted in, on pacificatory tours of the most disturbed regions.

"These expeditions conducted their operations in a narrow belt of country, running from the district of Grodek Jagiellonski, a few miles to the west of Lwow, through Bobrka, south of the same city, Rohatyn, Brzezany and Podhajce, to the district of Tarnopol. In other words, the operations were local, affecting only those districts in which the campaign of terrorism had been most intense and disaffection most rife in the villages. The places in which the troops and police established themselves, for periods varying from a few hours to five days, were deliberately chosen by the authorities, and lists of persons notoriously disaffected were furnished to the officers commanding.

"The main accusations against the expeditions are that they inflicted brutal and promiscuous floggings, and that, on the pretext of searching for hidden arms, ammunition, and terrorist literature, they did reckless damage

to house property, and particularly to the premises of cooperative and cultural institutions."

He does not deny the fact that many "most culpable excesses" have been committed, for he says:

"There can also be no doubt that in certain villages, sometimes under provocation and sometimes not, they committed most culpable excesses."

He arrives, however, at the following very characteristic conclusion:

"But having obtained entirely independent information about the procedure of the expeditions in some places where excesses were not committed, and having compared the number of places in which the Ukrainians truthfully or untruthfully allege excesses with my estimate of the total number of places visited, I am bound to conclude that even if all the Ukrainian allegations of pulped flesh were to be substantiated—as some undoubtedly have been—the number of visitations accompanied by gross cruelty would still be a small proportion of the whole."

What is very remarkable in the above conclusion is the admission of the correspondent that he obtained "entirely independent information about the procedure of the expeditions in some places where excesses were not committed." Are we to understand that he did not obtain such "entirely independent information" in places where excesses were committed?

The reason for such procedure on the part of the Times correspondent is well known to all those who recall the treatment accorded by the Polish government to Negley Farson, correspondent of the Chicago Daily News, by arresting him for coming to Eastern Galicia on the express invitation of the Polish ambassador in Washington, when he tried to find out at first hand the conditions in villages where excesses had been committed. The same thing happened to Dr. Dey who was arrested while trying to give medical assistance to a victim of Polish "pacification."

The solicitude of the Polish Government that no unbiased reports reach the outside world may also explain the fact why the Times correspondent did not choose to see representatives of the Ukrainian press and representatives of Ukrainian cultural organizations. This also accounts, to a certain extent at least, for the fact that he seems to present more the Polish point of view in his exposition of the origin of disturbances in Eastern Galicia. This consideration, however, does not prevent him from making the following statement:

"At the same time it is necessary to face the fact that most Ukrainians regard the Poles as foreigners in their midst and themselves as forced to live in a foreign state against their will. Whether in the long run they will be content to reserve for a more distant future their ambitions of joining the Great Ukraine or forming a buffer state between Poland and Rumania, conceived as the Piedmont of the Ukrainian race, and accept temporary allegiance to the Polish state, depends to a large extent on the play of external

facts. Those ambitions can only be realized in the future by war, and if the Ukrainians ever became convinced that Europe as a whole was not heading for war but for peace they might moderate their hostility towards Poland. At present there are no signs of such a change."

The Times correspondent ends with the following observation which the Ukrainians fully endorse:

"The obvious requirement is that there should be full inquiry into the allegations against soldiers and police and punishment of those who are found guilty. I understand that this is being done. It is also hoped that in time members of the Government's party will be able to discuss the situation with some of the Ukrainian Deputies."

The Ukrainians subscribe to the above conclusion of the Times correspondent as to necessity of an inquiry into all Polish excesses in Eastern Galicia, only that this inquiry should be conducted by such body as the League of Nations which is entrusted with the duty of protecting the rights of minorities. Such impartial inquiry is being advocated not only by the Ukrainians and their friends, but also by such friends of Poland as Wickham Steed, formerly editor-in-chief of the London Times and now editor of the Review of Reviews, a monthly published in London, England.

Commenting on the report of its Warsaw correspondent the Times says in an editorial of December 18, 1930:

"Our Correspondent who has spent some time in the disturbed districts, has no doubt that the Polish police and cavalymen, who were sent against the terrorists, committed culpable excesses, though he believes that the number of cases of physical maltreatment has been exaggerated. But he also points out that there is no evidence of any official attempt to suppress Ukrainian institutions as such; that the disaffected elements, so far from being goaded into revolt by the tyranny of local Polish officials, were encouraged by their inertia; and finally that no Government worthy of the name could have overlooked the provocation offered by the Ukrainians though they might have punished it with more discrimination. The burning of the stacks, barns, and cottages of members of the Polish minority would have provoked a local civil war if the Central Government had neglected it. The discovery of such unusual ecclesiastical furniture as machine-guns and rifles in the houses of priests certainly suggests that the illegal Ukrainian military organization and its foreign supporters were preparing for some such contingency."

Seeing an obstacle to any understanding between the Poles and the Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia in "the absolutely uncompromising attitude of the Ukrainian extremists and the silence of the moderates whom they terrorize," the Times says:

"The other obstacle is the manifest belief of many East Galician Ukrainians that they can count upon armed German support in an eventual struggle with Poland, or that they may one day unite with the 30,000,000 Ukrainians of Russia when the Communist yoke has been shaken off. Minorities professing ambitions which can only be realized by international war imperil their claims to consideration ..."

With regard to the Ukrainian movement the Times apparently takes an attitude which the Ukrainians are at a loss to understand. This movement is called by the Times "to a great

extent an invention of German and Austro-Hungarian soldiers and politicians." How can a national movement affecting forty million - people be called an "invention" of another nation — is beyond our comprehension. With similar plausibility we can call the Polish national movement also an "invention" and even a "German invention," because in the first three years of the World War the Poles, under general Pilsudski, organized volunteer troops which fought on the side of Germany against the Allies. But this fact did not prevent the Allies from recognizing the independence of Poland.

In fairness to the Times we must admit that its "uncompromising" attitude towards the Ukrainians has been considerably changed in the subsequent month.

On January 3rd, 1931 referring to the forthcoming January meeting of the Council of the League of Nations, the Times remarks:

"Two of the questions in the agenda are of general European importance, and might easily be discussed in a contentious atmosphere. One of these is the question of the German Silesia ... Another minority in Poland, which has real grievances — and has been encouraged to make the most of them by anti-Polish influences — is the Ukrainian."

In an editorial of January 26th, 1931, commenting on the decision of the League Council regarding the mistreatment by Poland of the German minority in Upper Silesia, the Times sees in it an "implicit rebuke to Polish policy" and adds:

"The Committee found, in adopting the report which was delivered to them by their rapporteur on Saturday, that there had in fact been infractions of the Upper Silesia Convention. ...and they asked that the Government at Warsaw should furnish the Council at its next session with a statement of the action it had taken to restore the confidence of the German minority."

In commending the course taken by Dr. Curtius, the German foreign minister, the Times certainly shows a marked change in its attitude to the question of minorities in Poland.

Referring to the German comment on the decision of the League Council with respect to the German minority in Poland in its issue of January 27th, the Times writes:

"On the whole, however, it has to be admitted that Germany did not do badly; indeed, could hardly have been done better in the circumstances.

"In newspapers friendly to the (German) Government the admission that the Minority Conventions were violated in Poland and the censure of the authorities in Polish Silesia contained in the Council's report are claimed as a German victory. Never before, it is said, has the League taken such a vigorous line in a minority case."

This publicity given by the Times to the findings of the League Council regarding Poland's violation of the Minorities Conventions affords another proof of a changed attitude of this daily to the minorities problem in Poland. This change was in evidence already on January 3rd, when the Times referred to

the Ukrainian minority grievances as "real grievances" in contradistinction to German minority grievances which apparently, in its opinion, were not so "real".

A further indication of lesser enthusiasm for the methods of Pilsudski Government can be seen in the report of the Times Warsaw correspondent, who only a month ago saw nothing wrong in this Government's punitive expeditions. Referring to the debate in the Warsaw Sejm on the ill-treatment of the former Deputies in the prison of Brest-Litowsk, he makes this observation:

"The opposition can hardly have hoped to obtain any satisfaction from the Dictatorship, which would have condemned itself by disowning its officers. But apart from the political capital which had been chiefly extracted from the Brzesc (Brest) affair, profound and serious motives made the volume of protest what it is. M. Stronski, the Polish Nationalist leader, described these feelings accurately when he said during the debate: "We feel the wrong done to the prisoners, but far more we feel the wrong done to the Polish State and nation, to the honour of the Polish name."

The correspondent thus winds up his observations:

"But it was beyond dispute that things happened at Brzesc which ought never to have been allowed, and the stream of protests from men of learning and the professions have undoubtedly been a warning to the regime that a similar persecution in the future might bring about its disintegration and downfall."

Commenting on M. Emile Vandervelde's preface to the text of the interpellation of the Polish Socialist Party condemning the Polish Government for the mistreatment of the former Deputies, in its issue of January 29th, 1931, the Times writes:

"His well-known sympathy for the Polish cause adds point to his express dissociation of his protest from any attempt on the part of other Governments to "derive political profit for their own ends from these lamentable events."

That not only the Ukrainians but the Poles, too, are critical of the Polish punitive expeditions is seen from the report of the Times Warsaw correspondent, dated January 28th. Giving an account of the debate in the Polish Sejm on the "pacification" in Eastern Galicia and recounting the Polish official reasons for the use of these severe measures which tally with the reasons given by this correspondent in his December report, discussed by us at the beginning of this chapter, he concludes:

"The Ukrainian Deputies, who were supported by the Polish Left (Opposition), argued that the use of punitive expeditions was neither justified nor just, and were loud in condemnation of excesses." But "a motion to institute a Parliamentary commission of enquiry was rejected by the Government majority."

On January 31st, the Times comments editorially on the gross ill-treatment of the former Polish Deputies. Terming the last Polish elections "the caricature of free elections", the Times writes:

"Last Tuesday the Prime Minister, Colonel Slawek opposed a motion for an inquiry into the "affair of Brzesc" — better known in this country as Brest-Litowsk — denied the truth of some stories of brutality, and at the same time explained that prison discipline must be and had been maintained by force. The opposition could hardly have expected him to disown his officials or condemn Marshal Pilsudski's policy, and the debate ended in a victory for the Government. But it left the general impression that, in our Warsaw correspondent's words, "things happened at Brzesc which ought never to have been allowed," and that Socialist, Agrarian, and Nationalist prisoners had equal cause for complaint against prison "discipline". The courageous protests of Polish men of learning and of the liberal professions have clearly had the effect of preventing any attempt to hush up the affair."

The editorial ends with this observation:

"They may also have taught Colonel Slawek that scandals of this kind are a bad advertisement for a Parliamentary Dictatorship, and are likely to be exploited by the many enemies of the young Republic "

The above quotations from the Times show not only a change of its attitude towards the affairs in Poland, principally the question of political rights and minority rights, but also indicate that, if Pilsudski Government could be so harsh with respect to its own nationals, former Deputies, incarcerated in the prison of Brest-Litowsk, then certainly no lenient treatment of its national minorities could be expected from this Government.

The Council of the League of Nations has already found that Poland violated Minority Conventions with respect to the German minority in Upper Silesia. The Ukrainians in Poland have a much stronger case than that of the German minority. An impartial investigation by the League Council of the Ukrainian complaints is certainly in the interests of everyone concerned.

And this is what the Ukrainians request. An impartial investigation followed by the strict guarantees that the Minorities Conventions will be observed by Poland will help to eliminate one of the most important causes of the friction existing between the Ukrainians and the Poles.

Ukrainian Question in the Press of Canada

The press in Canada showed its appreciation of the importance of the Ukrainian question by giving its columns to accounts of numerous Ukrainian meetings throughout Canada protesting against the reign of terror in East Galicia and to statements giving the Ukrainian point of view. The author of this book as President of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada was one of the speakers at a series of Ukrainian protest meetings in Canada. These meetings afforded an opportunity to present the Ukrainian attitude through the Canadian press before the general public of Canada. The dailies in such cities as Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton, Windsor, Winnipeg and Edmonton printed interviews with the author, in which he pointed out the solution of the Ukrainian question in Europe as the Ukrainians see it.

The interview printed in the "Evening Telegram" (Toronto, November 1, 1930) presents the Ukrainian point of view at some length and reads as follows:

"In the opinion of W. Swystun, president of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, from Winnipeg, the present troubles in Galicia between the Poles and Ukrainians are due primarily to Poland. Until the League of Nations intervenes and grants autonomy to the Ukrainians, there will be no cessation of the "reign of terror."

NOT WORK OF REDS.

"There is absolutely no truth in the allegations that the trouble in Poland is the work of the Reds," he stated in an interview with The Telegram.

"It is a struggle for autonomy. The Ukrainians want to be independent of Poland, and they want the League of Nations, who put them under Poland, to set them free."

"It must be impressed first of all that there are two different situations. The problem of the Ukrainians in Poland is external. That of the Ukrainians in Russia is internal. The hope of the Polish Ukrainians lies in an appeal to the League of Nations. That of the Ukrainians in Russia lies in a revolution.

"The cause of the Polish troubles is as follows: In 1919, Poland signed a treaty with the Allies that guaranteed the rights of all minorities, and the constitutional rights of the Ukrainians. These rights were guaranteed also by the constitution of 1921.

WERE PROMISED AUTONOMY.

"That provided for regional autonomy. Besides that an act of September 26th, 1922, provided for the autonomy of East Galicia and for three legislative assemblies in as many divisions or provinces of East Galicia.

"Each legislature was to have two houses, one for the Ukrainians and one for the Poles. The former would deal with all Ukrainian and the latter with all Polish matters. Where any question affected both nations a joint assembly would be held.

"The same act provided for an Ukrainian University for East Galicia. This act was supposed to be enforced in two years' time. It has never been carried out yet.

"Those are the immediate causes of the present unrest. The act only stands on the statute books. There has never been any attempt to carry it out. It was passed only to persuade the Allies to allot East Galicia to the Poles. The act was passed in 1922. The Eastern frontier of Poland was not fixed until March 14th, 1923, at the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris.

"The main argument of the Poles was that they had passed the autonomy act. Therefore the Ukrainians should have no grievances. Lloyd George was not quite satisfied at the time, but France considered herself a very particular protectress of Poland, and France in this case had the upper hand.

WANT TREATY REVISION.

"The Ukrainians are trying to agitate for a revision of the treaties relating to the Eastern frontier of Poland. The present demand is for an independent state of all Ukrainians in Poland. They want to have absolute independence.

"We are trying to get the Allies whenever we can to take a hand, and to get English public sympathy directed to this path.

"East Galicia lies directly in the air route from England to India. We believe that Great Britain has to have a hand in the matter, and I think conditions will be such that we will get Britain's support.

"It would not be possible for Britain to hold a mandate of the country as it is against Britain's policies to hold any mandate in Europe.

"The Poles refuse to recognize the Ukrainians as a separate people," stated President Swystun.

"There is more or less national cultural oppression. They want to assimilate the Ukrainians instead of allowing them autonomy.

"The hope of the Polish Ukrainians lies in an appeal to the League of Nations. There are 7,000,000 Ukrainians under the Poles.

THE RUSSIAN PROBLEM.

"There are 32,000,000 under the Russians. The problem of these latter people is an economic one. They also want independence but as their position was not caused by the League they have no appeal to it. Their only hope is in revolution and breaking away from Soviet. Their case is not subject to any international treaties. The solution lies in an internal revolution. That is the only hope for future success.

"Russia of course has embarked on their "five-year plan." By this plan they hope in five years to build up an industrial plant with which they can undersell all other nations in the world's markets. When Germany embarked on a similar scheme previous to 1914 it ended in an economic world war. Personally I do not believe Russia will be successful. The nations would probably raise their tariffs. But if they were successful it would bring on another world war. In that case the Ukrainians in Russia would join the Western World against the Soviet in order to free themselves.

"There are small rebellions going on all the time in Russia which their censorship never allows to be reported. In January and February there was a great revolt of the peasants, who fought against "collectivism" or giving their farms up to be held in common."

A concise statement of the Ukrainian question is put in the following manner by the "Manitoba Free Press" (Winnipeg, November 21, 1930):

"The present unrest among the Ukrainians in Poland, is due mainly to the fact that the minimum rights guaranteed to the Ukrainians by international treaties respecting the rights of minorities and by the acts of the Polish Constituent assembly are not being enforced. The Ukrainians have been driven by persecutions and intolerance at the hands of the Polish government to despair, and some acts of violence have been perpetrated by Ukrainian patriots for the sole purpose of reminding the allied governments and the government of Poland of their unfulfilled obligations with respect to the Ukrainians. These individual acts of the Ukrainians were a signal for reprisals on the part of the Polish government directed against the whole Ukrainian population in Poland. Thousands of Ukrainians were arrested. Ukrainian schools and other institutions were closed or dissolved, punitive expeditions were sent to the villages of peaceful peasant inhabitants for the purpose of terrorizing them by severe physical punishments, which in some cases resulted in death for the unfortunate victims, and by wanton destruction of their property under the pretext of searching for concealed arms. This method of "pacification" of the Ukrainian population by the Poles was used in September and October and notwithstanding official promises has not been stopped.

"The solution of the present unrest in Poland is possible only by the establishment of a Ukrainian national state on the Ukrainian territories now in Poland. There is no truth in the allegations that the Ukrainian political movement in Poland is inspired by the Bolsheviks and that its aim is to liberate the Ukrainians from under Poland for the sole purpose of joining the Soviet Union. It must be impressed that there are two aspects of the Ukrainian problem, the eastern and western. There are about forty million Ukrainians, of whom 30,000,000 live under the Bolshevik regime, 7,000,000 under Poland, over a million under Rumania, and about half a million under Czecho-Slovakia. The political aspect of the Ukrainian question in Poland, Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia is different from the Ukrainian question in Russia. The latter is more or less an internal problem of the Soviet Union, and will be solved only by internal revolution; the former is a problem of international importance and will be solved primarily by those nations which are signatories to international peace treaties. The Ukrainians claim that they are entitled to the rights of self-determination which were denied to them by the Treaty of Versailles.

"The ultimate aim of the Ukrainians is to form a Ukrainian national state, comprising all Ukrainian territories now divided between Poland, Russia, Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia. But the Ukrainians liberated from under Poland will not join with the Ukrainians now under the Soviet regime until the latter have freed themselves from the Russian sovereignty."

Soviet Russia and the Ukraine

THE MONSTER TRIALS IN MOSCOW AND KHARKOV.

The Ukrainians number over forty million people. Of this number 32 millions live in Russia. The bulk of the Ukrainian territory is incorporated within the Soviet Union. This consideration alone shows how the Ukrainian question is bound up with the Russian question.

Russia has become a front page news on account of its huge experiment concerned with the creation of a new social order. Russia of to-day is the country of the five-year-plan—a definite attempt to achieve within a brief space of five years an industrial and agricultural development which in such countries as England, the United States, France or Germany, has been the work of generations. Stalin, the present dictator of Russia, "has placed all his eggs in the five-year-plan basket" to use the apt phrase of the "Manchester Guardian."

It is therefore easy to understand why every news about Russia, or coming out of Russia, is usually, in one way or another, connected with the five-year plan and why the plan itself has absorbed the interest of the world. The recent monster trial of four Russian professors and four engineers in Moscow is ample proof for that. This trial received a great amount of publicity in the press. Detailed accounts of the proceedings were sent out by special correspondents of important European and American newspapers. The press was full of editorial comments and observations. The governments took notice of the trial and had copious reports sent to them by their official representatives in Moscow. Why all this interest? The answer is very simple. The accused were charged with conspiracy to wreck the five-year-plan and with plotting to bring about intervention in Russia by France and Great Britain.

One other feature of this trial is the reason for such wide publicity. It was an elaborately staged public spectacle.

How it was staged is graphically described by the "Observer's" Moscow correspondent:

"The daily sessions of the court are more popular than the opera or theatre, the large auditorium of the Trade Union Hall being constantly overcrowded, while the flashing of arc lamps and the clicking of cameras—preparations incidental to the registering of a talking film of the proceedings—enhance the spectacular character of the trial."

The atmosphere in which the trial was conducted is described by the "Review of Reviews" (London):

"To understand the atmosphere in which it began it should be remembered that for years the Russian populace has been led to believe that capitalist enemies abroad were lying in wait to attack them. Ten days before the trial opened, a period of "national defence" was inaugurated, during which military training was given under the auspices of the trade unions. On the eve of the trial all Soviet newspapers were instructed to publish a fresh appeal to the entire population to "abandon discords" and "rally to defend their country." Special courses for war correspondents were ordered, and a group of Young Pioneers (children between the ages of eight and sixteen, explains the Moscow correspondent of the 'Manchester Guardian'), passed a resolution, dictated to them, demanding the death of the accused engineers."

The alleged foreign intervention by France with her allies Poland and Rumania, and by Great Britain was to take place in 1930 or 1931, for the express purpose of wrecking the five-year-plan in its final years. The "Times" correspondent writes from Moscow:

"Originally the intervention was timed for 1928, and then 1930. The year 1930 was generally regarded as the most difficult year of the five-year-plan. In the latter half of 1929 the Industrial Party (Russian organisation active in the "plot") began to receive information about the impossibility of intervention in 1930, and it was suggested that it should be postponed until 1931.

"The plan for intervention remained the same for 1931, without, however, the expectation of any serious revolts in the Ukraine and the Don. It was therefore considered necessary to effect the interruption of communication between the Donetz Basin and Moscow by diversional operations. In 1931, England's role was expected to decline considerably, while France's role would, it was expected, greatly increase. Finally, in 1931, it was proposed as a preliminary step to intervention to organize an economic blockade of the U.S.S.R."

In connection with this charge of foreign intervention a very illuminating incident came out during the trial.—The chief prisoner, Professor Ramzin, in his "confession," had declared that a certain Paul Riabushinsky had been the principal medium between the plotters and M. Poincare in 1927. It came out in the trial, however, that this man, a well-known industrialist of prerevolutionary Russia, died in 1924. This incident showed how flimsy were the charges of "plots" of foreign intervention.

But even such a blunder hardly perturbed the Soviet judges, and, after an intermission, the court resumed its hearing as though nothing remarkable had happened.

The trial ended in sentencing to death five of the accused. The remaining three were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. The death sentences were afterwards commuted to sentences of ten years' imprisonment. The commutation of the death sentences coupled with the fact that they were based on no evidence, but rather on the self-accusations and "confessions" made by the prisoners, as well as the elaborate staging of the trial, convinced the rest of the world that the Moscow trial was a carefully engineered piece of the Bolshevik propaganda.

It is no wonder that the press could see in this trial a "mock trial," a "judical pantomime," a "huge public spectacle" and in the accused only the "scapegoats" that had to be sacrificed by the Soviet Government to protect itself against the shortcomings of the five-year-plan.

Commenting on the Moscow trial the "Manchester Guardian" wrote:

"There is perhaps no parallel in history to the trial which has just ended in Moscow. Professor Ramzin and his fellow-prisoners were charged with two crimes—planning a foreign invasion and "industrial sabotage," which amounts to organising a policy of a "ca' canny" to upset the Soviet Government's five-year-plan. The accused men made the most damaging confessions to the police, and, what is more, they stuck to them in open court. They not only admitted their crimes but even seemed at times intent on going one better than the prosecution. But they did not, as is sometimes the case with revolutionary plotters, glory in their crimes and boast that their actions, though technically illegal, were morally meritorious. They professed repentance and asked for pardon. In an ordinary case this would be understandable enough, but the case which has just ended was not an ordinary trial. It was a public spectacle. From beginning to end it was conducted as a vast propaganda meeting designed to glorify the Soviet and expose the wickedness of its enemies. Probably the prisoners felt that after such a trial they were bound to be found guilty, but that perhaps a show of repentance would earn them milder sentences. The commutation of the death sentences proves that they were right. The indecency of turning a trial on a capital charge into political propaganda and the apparently foregone conclusion horrified Western Europe and convinced many that the accused were not really guilty."

We fully subscribe to the above comment, except where it is stated that "there is perhaps no parallel in history to the trial which has just ended in Moscow." Because in fact an exact parallel to this trial took place in Kharkov, the present capital of the Soviet Ukraine, in March 1930. Substitute Kharkov for Moscow, Professor Yefremov for Professor Ramzin, and everything said and written about the Moscow trial could as well be applied to the Kharkov trial. Professor S. Yefremov, as head of the League for the Liberation of the Ukraine, with other forty four Ukrainian leaders, was charged with complicity in a "plot" contemplating foreign intervention for the purpose of assisting the League to separate the Ukraine from Russia and to establish an independent Ukrainian Republic. Charges of sabotage in connection with the five-year-plan, insofar as it affected the collectivization of individual farms, were also made.

The Kharkov trial was as elaborately staged as the Moscow trial, but for several reasons failed to make an impression on the outside world. One of the reasons was that at that time the interest of the world was absorbed in the anti-religious terror in Russia. Another reason was that no foreign power was mentioned by name as participating in the "plot".

Furthermore, at that time, the five-year-plan as yet did not command the world wide interest. But the main reason

was that the Soviet Government staged the Kharkov trial for the purpose of propaganda among the Ukrainians, both in the Ukraine and abroad. With this end in view, the Kharkov trial was advertised at home with all the elaborateness which was the main attribute of the Moscow trial. But while the Government sent out extensive reports of the trial to all Communist papers printed in Ukrainian outside of Russia, at the same time it was very careful that no news about this trial reached the foreign press.

RED TERROR IN THE UKRAINE.

The Kharkov trial did not fail, however, to create a very great interest among the Ukrainians. And this not only because of the fact that out of the number of forty million Ukrainians 32,000,000 live in the Soviet Union, but also because this trial was part of an organized terror against the Ukrainians. The Soviet Government was determined at the end of 1929 and beginning of 1930 to destroy the system of individual farming in the Ukraine. Individual farm holdings were a living contradiction of the Bolshevik ideals of social or collective ownership. Besides, the Ukrainian peasant, with his firm belief in individual ownership of land and his traditions of political freedom which characterised the actions of his Cossack ancestors, presented too great a danger for the future of Bolshevism in the Ukraine. The Ukrainian peasants not only held such beliefs, but proved them by waging a continuous guerilla warfare with the Soviet Government, whose hands were busy with fighting the Ukrainian peasants' insurgent "bands", as the Bolsheviks officially called them. In order to deal a final blow to the Ukrainian peasantry and to the Ukrainian intelligentsia, which sympathised with the individualistic philosophy of the peasant, the Soviet Government instituted a reign of terror. This terror was also directed against the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the principal Bishops of which, including Metropolitan Wasyl Lypkiwsky, were imprisoned and exiled to the Solovetski Islands.

Grim atrocities perpetrated by the Bolshevik officials in the Ukraine were keenly felt by the Ukrainians throughout the world. Everywhere mass meetings were held protesting against the Red Terror. In Canada a Central Protest Committee was organised under auspices of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, and hundreds of meetings of protest were also held.

In "The New Wave of Red Terror", (1930, published by Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada), we find the following brief description of the repressive measures ordered by the Soviet Government against the Ukrainians:

"Press advices from the Ukraine tell us of a new wave of terror. The Bolsheviks are determined to undermine all fundamental institutions of

the Ukrainians. The two basic classes of the Ukrainian people, namely the peasant class and the intelligentsia, are doomed.

"The Bolsheviks have found in the Ukrainian peasant, who is strongly individualistic in his economic theory of life, the most formidable antagonist of all Bolshevik plans of bringing about the Communist millennium in the Soviet Union. In their determination to crush the peasant opposition the Bolsheviks have proclaimed the policy of extermination of peasants as holders of land. According to their five-year-plan of industrialization and collectivization of the Soviet Union there will be no independent individual peasant at the end of the period of five years which will come 1932. As the individual form of farm holdings in the Ukraine is a national characteristic of the Ukrainians in contradistinction to the Russian communal land holding with its institution of village mir, this present determined fight between the Bolsheviks and the Ukrainian peasant is also a fight for national self-determination of the Ukrainians.

"The method of converting the Ukrainian peasant into a landless proletarian is characteristically Bolshevik. The Bolsheviks use terror as their weapon. They execute daily scores of peasants to force the remaining members of the village into submission. On October 25th forty-five peasants were executed, on October 27th twenty-six peasants were sentenced to the same fate, on October 28th seventeen peasants faced the firing squad.

"During the months of September, October, November and December thousands of members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia were arrested under the pretext of counter-revolution. In the city of Kiev, the cultural centre of Ukrainians life, two hundred of the most prominent Ukrainian men and women were arrested. The only crime that could be imputed to them was that they served the interests of arts and sciences as members of the Ukrainian race, not wishing to be implicated in any political form of activity. But this was enough to proclaim them counter-revolutionaries. Thousands of leading Ukrainian men and women were arrested in cities and villages of the Ukraine.

"The fiercest attack, however, is directed against the religious institutions in the Ukraine, especially against the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church. This church is proclaimed counter-revolutionary, because it faithfully tries to preach the Gospel of Christ. Four Bishops of this church and thirty members of the clergy were recently arrested by the Bolsheviks. Church buildings are being forcibly closed and changed into atheist clubs. School children of tender age (between 7 and 11) are forced to stage street parades against the celebrating of such Christian festivals as Christmas Day. At such parades banners are displayed bearing inscriptions such as "Down with religion," "Religion is opium for the people," "Do not destroy the forest trees for Christmas trees," "We shall leave our school desks on Christmas Day" and similar others.

"Bishops, priests, ministers, rabbis, and members of the congregations are deprived of the rights of Soviet citizens. Children are forbidden to receive any religious instruction, and priests, ministers or other persons who have the courage to impart religious instruction are arrested and then banished. Murders and executions of priests and even Bishops are not uncommon."

The Central Protest Committee, in its appeal to the Ukrainians in Canada to hold meetings protesting against the red terror, wrote:

"Mass arrests were made by the red oppressors of the most famous Ukrainian scientists and writers, professors and members of the Ukrainian farming community and of the Ukrainian labourers. They have arrested S. O. Efremov, member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, V. M. Cherkhiwsky, president of the Ukrainian Church Council, O. Y. Hermala, pro-

fessor of the Kiev Institute of People's Education (University), N. W. Nikowsky, R. F. Durdukiwsky and many others. Thousands of Ukrainians were arrested throughout the Ukraine.

"All those arrested await cruel ruthless and bloody sentences of the Bolshevik courts, based not on evidence but on informations of the OGPU, await tortures, executions, or exile into the Solovetski Islands or into Siberia.

"Thousands of Ukrainian peasants were executed, partly because of their resistance to forcible requisitions of grain and other farm products by the Bolshevik hirelings and partly as "exemplary punishments" for the purpose of frightening the Ukrainian population.

"The peasants are being forcibly disowned, ruthlessly ejected out of their homes and turned into serfs who must render slavish servitudes upon the state and collective farms."

Such mass meetings were held in Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Regina, Toronto, Montreal and other places throughout Canada. The Winnipeg Ukrainians held their meeting on Sunday evening, February 9th, in the hall of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Cathedral, corner Burrows Ave. and Sinclair St. The meeting was held under auspices of the Central Protest Committee organized on the initiative of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada. Fourteen Ukrainian associations, officially through their representatives, took part in the meeting. The following organizations were represented: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, Union of Ukrainian Community Centres, P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute, Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Ukrainian Students Alliance, Women's Auxiliary of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Cathedral, the Canadian Ukrainian Women's Association, Society Boyan, Ukrainian Relief Association, Branch No. 21, St. Michael Mutual Benefit Association, Society of Y. Fedkowich, the congregation of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Cathedral, Students Society Prometheus, and Organization of Ukrainian War Veterans.

The speakers were: W. Swystun, president of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada; General of the Ukrainian Army, Volodimir Sikewich; J. W. Arsenych, local barrister; O. Tarnoweczy as representative of the Ukrainian War Veterans, and V. Kupchenko as representative of the congregation of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Cathedral. More than five hundred persons were present.

The following resolution was unanimously passed:

"Ukrainians of the City of Winnipeg, assembled in the protest meeting on February the 9th, held under auspices of the Central Protest Committee organized on the initiative of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, hereby emphatically protest against the new wave of red terror now sweeping across the Ukrainian territory under the Bolshevik occupation, the aim of which is the extermination of the Ukrainian people.

"This meeting protests against the mass arrests of hundreds of the most prominent Ukrainians in Kiev, as S. Yefremov, member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, V. Chekhiwsky, member of the Ukrainian

Church Council, and other prominent professors, men of letters, and students of high schools and universities, also protest against the arrests of thousands of the most prominent Ukrainian men and women in all parts of the Ukraine.

"The assembled in this meeting brand the accusation of counter-revolutionary activity on the part of those arrested as mean insinuations fabricated for the sole purpose of vindicating the reign of terror;

"Demand immediate release of the arrested persons and giving to them the opportunity of further scientific and cultural work;

"Protest against the barbaric, ruthless and unheard of persecution of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church, against the arrests of four Bishops and thirty members of clergy of this church, against persecutions of members of congregations of the church, against the closing of church buildings and turning the same into clubs of the Godless, and against the spreading of atheism and demoralization among the younger generation, and finally against all religious persecutions;

"Emphatically protest against the ban of all non-communistic papers, magazines and books and against the abolition of freedom of speech.

"Appeal to the whole civilized world to find means of putting an end to acts of terror of the Bolsheviks who are contemplating to put the whole world to similar terroristic experiments from which the Ukrainian people now suffer;

"Appeal to the Ukrainians of Canada to organize for the purpose of defending the right of freedom of the Ukrainian people in their own country;

"Express their belief that only the independent Ukrainian state will guarantee the full national rights of the Ukrainian people; and

"That the Ukrainians must organize with a view to a determinate fight for the liberation of the Ukrainian territories from all foreign occupants and for the establishment of an independent sovereign Ukrainian nation."

Copies of the above resolution have been forwarded to the Canadian and British Governments, to the League of Nations and to the Soviet Ambassador in London.

Numerous protest meetings, held by the Ukrainians throughout Canada, passed the above resolution.

Reports of all such meetings were cabled by the Central Protest Committee to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, the Canadian and British Governments and the Soviet Ambassador in London.

The Kharkov trial was conducted on the same principles as the Moscow trial. There was no evidence produced in court against the accused who, however, convicted themselves by self-accusations and "confessions." At that time it was very difficult to understand the reason for such sweeping "confessions", but now, after the Moscow trial, the reason is very plain. The accused were selected as "scapegoats" of the Soviet Government. The trial at Kharkov ended in a manner similar to that of the Moscow trial, only that instead of sentencing the principal "plotters" to death and subsequently commuting the

death sentences to those of imprisonment, the court exhibited "Communitistic clemency" by sentencing the accused to various terms of imprisonment, the longest being of ten years.

Some of the principal persons at the Kharkov trial, like Volodimir M. Chekhiwsky, were active leaders in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Mr. Chekhiwsky was president of the Ukrainian General Church Council. Together with Professor Yefremov he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. Many leaders of the Church, however, including former Metropolitan Wasyl Lypkiwsky and three other Bishops, were not tried, but exiled without trial. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church, accused of complicity in plotting to bring about a revolution in the Ukraine for the purpose of establishing an independent Ukrainian Republic, was dissolved as such.

The Church Council was disbanded and only individual parishes were permitted to carry on, but even these were driven underground by persistent persecution of local authorities.

SOME OBSERVATION ON RUSSO-UKRAINIAN RELATIONS.

There are two questions of paramount importance for Soviet Russia, one is the five-year-plan and the other is the Ukraine. The monster trials at Moscow and Kharkov prove this. Great significance lies in the fact that the first of these trials was in Kharkov, in the Ukraine. While the Moscow trial shows the importance of the success of the five-year-plan to the continuance of the present Soviet regime, the Kharkov trial demonstrates that without the Ukraine Soviet Russia will cease to be an empire powerful enough to be a menace to the rest of the world.

In both trials extensive use was made of a propaganda tending to show that the "capitalist" countries prepare an armed intervention in Russia, aiming at her dismemberment. Although no such ideas are entertained by the "capitalist" states, this kind of Bolshevik propaganda finds a very fertile soil in Russia, because an average Soviet citizen implicitly believes in, and hopes for, such an intervention, or even general war, of other states against Russia.

This belief is shared both by the rank and file of the Communists, as well as by the great mass of anti-Communists, comprising about ninety percent of the population of the Soviet Union.

The trouble with this great majority is that they believe that without a foreign intervention their liberation from the present Dictatorship cannot be effected. The Soviet Government harps on this implicit belief and by careful engineering of "plots" contemplating foreign intervention and subsequent

"discoveries" of such "plots" arouses enthusiasm on the part of the faithful and creates despair in those to whom the present regime is hateful.

Repressive measures used by the government succeeded in keeping the average Soviet citizen in a state of passive apathy. Again, the strain of the five-year-plan has undermined the energy of the people, most of whom are resigned to a duce hope that, after all, something may come of their present sacrifices.

A marked change in the attitude of the people must come with the end of the five-year-plan. Whatever success this plan may have, it is a certainty — that it will not usher in a Communistic Millennium.

One thing is necessary. The outside world must take definite stand towards Russia. The nations of the world must either decide to enter into full political and economic relations with Russia, or else, treat her in the same way as we treat infectious diseases, by completely isolating her.

Which course is to be taken? Russia appears to suggest the right answer to this question.

The Soviet Government pursues the policy of "complete isolation" of its citizens from the rest of the world. As a rule the Soviet citizen is not allowed to have any intercourse with foreigners living within Russia. He is not allowed to read foreign books or foreign press, unless they profess the Communistic faith. On the other hand, Russia, while trying to obtain from the rest of the world the best of industrial equipment and technical skill, pays back by dumping products of convict labour and spreading extensive propaganda, organized very effectively by means of the Communistic press as well as by cleverly prepared reports of various "delegations" speaking very favourably about internal conditions in Russia.

But while the rest of the world may for the time being assume the role of an onlooker, the Ukrainians must be ready for immediate action. Their whole future is at stake. The Soviet regime spells enslavement of the Ukraine. The death of the Soviets will bring freedom to the Ukraine.

